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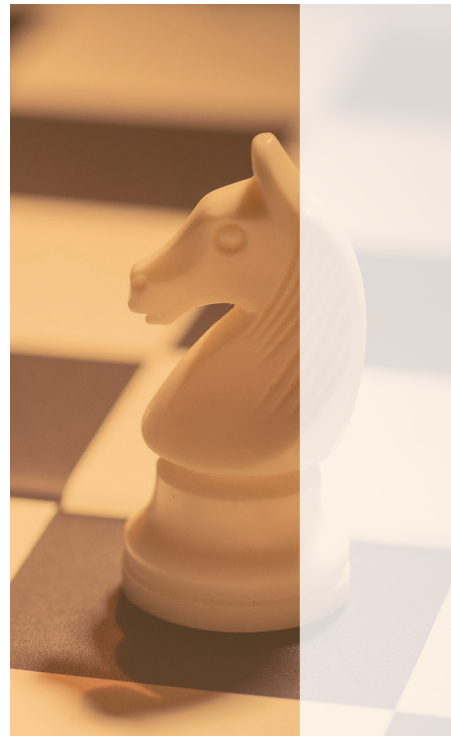
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Diplomacy

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DIPLOMACY

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Eskişehir, Republic of Turkey, February 2019

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Preface

Dear Students,

This book aims to inform international students about the definition of the concept of diplomacy which is the one of the most important concepts of international relations discipline, and its importance of evolution in the historical process and the practices of today. In this context, knowing of the basic role and validity of the diplomacy will make an important contribution to the analysis of relations between the state-state and the state-state actors in international politics. Especially today, the existence and the role of the diplomacy is equally valued, as the concepts of global governance and interdependence are accepted among the actors in the international politics. From this point of view, diplomacy, which can be influenced from actors in global politics to regional powers, from non-state actors to public bodies, is a mechanism that enables states, societies and individuals to live in peace. If we take into account that diplomacy is the most fundamental means of foreign policy that shows that international relations can be the history of peace, not just war, we can say that the need for diplomacy is growing steadily in today.

Our book consists of eight chapters. Our authors in this book that of the International Relations (English) Undergraduate Program at Anadolu University have dealt with the concept of diplomacy in a wide range of historical developments, from the first diplomatic methods applied in history to today's diplomatic practices. In this framework, the first chapter of the book emphasizes the definition and the significance of the concept of diplomacy. The first chapter also covered the theoretical framework of international diplomacy, the different types of diplomacy and the diplomatic relations and diplomatic practices between actors in today's international relations. Within this historical development, different types of diplomacy have been included in this chapter. The second chapter also focuses on the historical development of the diplomacy. In this context, the practices of diplomacy in antiquity and medieval period are discussed in detail. Being aware of the emergence of first diplomatic practices and conveying the development of different diplomatic practices in different civilizations for centuries has been the main objective of this chapter. The first diplomatic practices from ancient Mesopotamian civilizations to ancient China, from ancient India to ancient Greece, were handled in detail in this chapter. The second chapter also examined medieval diplomacy. Within this context, diplomatic practices in the Islamic world and the Byzantine Empire have been examined. The third chapter of the book deals with the process of transition to permanent diplomatic practices. In this context, it follows the roots of modern diplomacy from the ancient times up to the Renaissance. The emergence of certain diplomatic practices, such as the embassies of the Italian city states, has been examined in the unit. The main aspects of diplomatic practices between the 1648 Westphalian Peace Treaty and the Vienna Congress were examined. The chapter also includes modern diplomatic practices, deals with the emergence of modern diplomatic missions and foreign ministries. This chapter also made the classification of different aspects of contemporary diplomacy in the late 20th and 21st centuries. The fourth chapter is about the Ottoman diplomatic and diplomatic correspondence. In this context, the chapter was first described in terms of both temporary and permanent diplomatic practices of the instruments and institutions of Ottoman diplomacy. The fifth chapter of the book is about the tools and institutions of the modern diplomacy. In this context, the development of the modern diplomacy analyzed firstly. Later on, modern diplomacy tools such as bilateral diplomacy, multilateral diplomacy and top diplomacy were explained. It also analyzed modern diplomatic institutions such as the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, diplomatic missions and non-state actors in this chapter. The title of the sixth chapter is Diplomacy of the Republic of Turkey. This unit has been included in the actors, processes and means of Turkish diplomacy. The unit was enriched with examples from Turkish diplomacy. The 7th Unit of the book is devoted to the diplomacy of global powers. Diplomacy practices of global powers are analyzed from a theoretical point of view in this chapter. Later, diplomatic practices of major global powers such as the United States, the European Union, China and Russia were discussed. The last part of the book contains examples of concrete diplomacy practices. In this context, firstly the concepts of negotiation, mediation and diplomatic agreement are explained. Then the content of international negotiations, mediation practices and the emergence of diplomatic agreements were analyzed.

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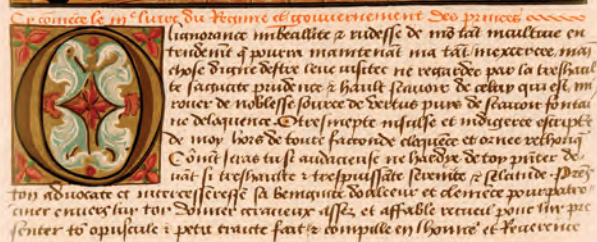
Definition and Importance of Diplomacy

Learning Outcomes

- 1 Define diplomacy and describe its scope, actors and functions
 - 2 Review the theoretical framework of international diplomacy
 - 3 Analyse and compare the diplomatic relations of different actors
 - 4 Differentiate and describe different types of diplomatic engagement

Key Terms

- Old Diplomacy-New Diplomacy
- Diplomatic Agents
- Diplomatic Theories
- Diplomatic Engagement
- Great Power Diplomacy
- Middle Power Diplomacy
- Small Power Diplomacy
- Bilateral Diplomacy
- Multilateral Diplomacy
- Polylateral Diplomacy
- Secret Diplomacy
- Open Diplomacy
- Conference Diplomacy
- Summit Diplomacy
- Coercive Diplomacy
- Crisis Diplomacy
- Track-Two Diplomacy
- Multitrack Diplomacy
- Economic Diplomacy
- Public Diplomacy
- Digital Diplomacy



INTRODUCTION

Diplomacy has a very long history through which it changed in terms of practice and content and diversified. This is an important indicator that there has been a constant need for diplomacy and that diplomacy, evolving and adjusting itself to changing international conditions, has never lost its significance. A useful tool that helps seize this significance is to examine the different definitions of diplomacy, which are derived from the theory and practice of diplomacy. This would also provide the framework for examining the scope, actors and tasks of diplomacy, which could be followed by different kinds of diplomatic engagement and the methods used in modern diplomacy.

WHAT IS DIPLOMACY?

Martin Wight refers to diplomacy as the “master-institution of international relations.” (Wight, 2002, 113) Diplomacy does indeed fulfil an important role in the conduct of interstate relations as well as handling of international issues. Defining diplomacy in terms of this role give also clues about the scope, actors and tasks of diplomacy and helps understand the significance of the role it plays in international relations.



Figure 1.1

Defining Diplomacy: Actors, Tasks, Scope

Etymologically speaking diplomacy comes from the combination of Greek word diploma (δίπλωμα), meaning something folded in two, a paper, in this case, which gives certain privileges to its holder. Making a precise and agreed definition of diplomacy in the moderns sense is not possible.

Oxford English Dictionary defines diplomacy as the “The profession, activity, or skill of managing international relations, typically by a country’s representatives abroad.” More detailed definitions are made by scholars who provide a significant literature on diplomacy. Therefore it is possible to find different definitions focusing on different aspects of diplomacy. Some of these definitions are as follows:



<https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/diplomacy>

‘Diplomacy is the application of intelligence and tact to the conduct of official relations between the governments of independent states, extending sometimes also to their relations with vassal states; or, more briefly still, the conduct of business between states by peaceful means’ (Satow, 1932, 1).

‘Diplomacy is the management of international relations by negotiation; the method by which these relations are adjusted and managed by ambassadors and envoys; the business or art of the diplomatist’ (Harold Nicolson, 1969, 15).

“[Diplomacy is] the conduct of relations between states and other entities with standing in world politics by official agents and by peaceful means, such conduct of relations by professional diplomatists and such conduct of relations between states that is carried out in a manner [...] that is, tactful or subtle.” (Hedley Bull, 1977, 162).

‘Diplomacy is concerned with the management of relations between states and other actors. From a state perspective diplomacy is concerned with advising, shaping and implementing foreign policy. As such it is the means by which states through their formal and other representatives, as well as other actors, articulate, coordinate and secure particular or wider interests, using correspondence, private talks, exchanges of view, lobbying, visits, threats and other related activities.’ (Barston, 2013, 1).

“Diplomacy is an essentially political activity and, well-resourced and skilful, a major ingredient of power. Its chief purpose is to enable states to secure the objectives of their foreign policies without resort to force, propaganda, or law. It follows that

diplomacy consists of communication between officials designed to promote foreign policy either by formal agreement or tacit adjustment.” (G. R. Berridge, 2010: 1)

Diplomacy is ‘the peaceful conduct of relations amongst political entities, their principals and accredited agents’ (Hamilton and Langhorne, 2010, 1).

“Diplomacy is conventionally understood as the processes and institutions by which the interests and identities of sovereign states are represented to one another.” (Devetak et.al., 2012, 257)

Analysing these different definitions of diplomacy helps us deduct the actors, tools and the scope of diplomacy as well as the tasks carried out by it and consequently to the important role it plays in international relations. They all point out certain aspects of diplomacy. None of them can be deemed wrong or should be accepted as the precise definition of diplomacy. Therefore instead of focusing on the definition it is more useful to comprehend the scope, actors and functions of diplomacy, which are the sources of these definitions. These can be deducted from the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations of 1961 which draws the framework of diplomatic relations. But this is a very limited framework that does not cover all the aspects of diplomacy, especially those that have transformed diplomacy in the late twentieth century. Therefore even though it can be taken a starting point, the study of diplomacy should not content itself with the Convention.



http://legal.un.org/ilc/texts/instruments/english/conventions/9_1_1961.pdf

Scope: The first thing that has to be defined would be the scope of diplomacy since the other elements such as actors and tasks could only be determined according to how broad the scope is defined. When the term is taken in a narrow sense it usually describes political relations between states and includes the practices of the diplomats and ministries of foreign affairs. That is why history of international relations between states is defined

as diplomatic history. On the most extreme side of this approach is to reduce diplomacy to the mechanical conduct of foreign relations through diplomatic representatives. Another point that should be made clear is if diplomacy and foreign policy are the same things as the two concepts are often confused. According to this approach diplomacy does not exist apart from foreign policy. This means that there is no interaction between diplomacy and foreign policy and that diplomacy is a mere tool. Defining diplomacy as an instrument of foreign policy is not incorrect but is incomplete. In modern international relations it is no longer possible to define diplomacy only in terms of foreign policy or political relations between states that is carried out by statesmen and diplomats. The scope of diplomacy has expanded through the course of history. (Chapters 2-3) In several periods in history the scope of diplomacy has become a matter of discussion among the theoreticians and practitioners of diplomacy. Many have mentioned and accepted that there was old diplomacy and a new diplomacy. This points to the evolving character of diplomacy. Each era has a new diplomacy of its own. This is especially true for the twenty-first century. For this reason it is necessary to adopt a broader approach. The broader definition does not exclude the narrow definition and the functions that are derived from that definition. But it also does not approach diplomacy as an entirely political conceptualisation. Instead it includes many other aspects of international intercourse like economic and social relations within the scope of diplomacy. This is mainly due to internationalisation of many issues that were previously considered as a part of domestic policy. Human rights, health, terror or environment can no longer be seen from a local perspective. They have become the concern of international society. This phenomenon has been furthered with the technological developments and increasing mobility of people. Therefore new issues have entered into diplomatic agenda and consequently the content of diplomacy has extended considerably. Diversification of actors is an indicator of this change.

Actors: Whether we accept the broad definition or the narrow one, we see certain actors acting on behalf of some other entity. But the questions of who these actors are and on whose behalf they are acting is answered depending on the scope that is

accepted. The main actors of diplomacy, as it is traditionally accepted regardless of its scope, are foreign ministers along with other employees of the ministry and the diplomatic agents in foreign countries, that is the head of mission and members of the diplomatic staff of the mission. On the other hand, when diplomacy is described in the broad sense, the actors it involves widens significantly. In recent years it is also possible to say that the *visa versa* is true as well. As new actors come to take part in and influence international relations they also widen the scope of diplomacy. Which one comes before the other is a minor question compared to the fact that both the scope and the actors of diplomacy have extended in a way to include what can be called globalised societies.

The actor diversification in diplomacy is closely related to rapid globalisation. There are many issues that cannot be solved with the attempts of single states anymore. Environmental issues, terrorism, immigration, humanitarian issues and many others need the cooperation of different states and sometimes the international community as a whole. Since it is not in the capacity of diplomats to cover all these issues that in many cases require specialisation, other ministries, specialists and advisors get involved in the diplomatic processes, which brings a great diversification of actors. But it is not only other state officials who become involved in diplomacy. Many non-state actors have also come to take part in diplomatic matters. NGOs, private companies, corporations, foundations, professional groups, social groups and even individuals can become diplomatic actors. Technological developments, especially those in communication and transportation technologies, have made it easier for these actors to take part in diplomatic relations.

The same technological developments have also increased the role of political leaders as actors of diplomacy. For a very long time now, it is possible for leaders to be informed about the developments immediately and give directions accordingly. Political leaders also have the chance to communicate directly, and often do via phone calls which have been popular among the politicians since the Cold War. Many leaders also communicate through text messages, even during the summits and conferences as means of fast direct communication that by-pass the long diplomatic procedures. They also meet

more often through mutual visits or the summits. While other government officials and advisors become more decisive in diplomatic relations along with the heads of government or state in this process, the role of professional diplomats and even foreign ministers has relatively diminished. These people in many occasions find themselves in difficult situations because of being bypassed or not informed in matters that are in their work definition. The increase in the role of political leaders is closely related to the domestication of foreign policy, meaning that that foreign policy issues are becoming matters of domestic politics. This in turn has an impact on the voting behaviours of people and increase their role and influence turning them also into determinate in diplomacy.

Functions: According to the Article 3 of Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, the functions of a diplomatic mission are representing the sending state in the receiving state, protecting in the receiving state the interests of the sending state and of its nationals, within the limits permitted by international law, negotiating with the government of the receiving state, ascertaining by all lawful means conditions and developments in the receiving State, and reporting thereon to the government of the sending state and promoting friendly relations between the sending state and the receiving state, and developing their economic, cultural and scientific relations.

The most important function of diplomacy, regardless of its scope or its actors, is communication. In a sense diplomacy is communication itself. Without communication there would be no international relations. What is expected with diplomatic communication is the establishment and maintenance of good relations based confidence and trust among the actors of international community, avoid hostility and resolve conflicts. An important aspect of diplomatic communication in this context is negotiations. (See Chapter 8) In the international arena, dominated by sovereign states, negotiation is the primary and predominant mode of reaching joint decisions. (Jönsson, 2002, 291) These decisions have to be based on common or compromised interests of states. It is diplomacy that finds or builds this base through negotiations. For any communicative function of diplomacy, including negotiations, skills and experience of the diplomats are of crucial

importance. As the scope of diplomacy enlarges, the communication task of diplomacy enlarges as well to include the communication among the other actors of diplomacy.

Another major function of diplomacy is representation. The main instrument of representation is embassies and its main actors are ambassadors, consulates, attaches and other diplomatic personnel. Representation can take several facets. Symbolic or ceremonial representation is one of those. Having embassies in foreign countries and international organisations are considered important elements of state sovereignty and recognition in international community. Also the number of diplomatic representatives in foreign states is considered a sign of international prestige. The decision to open embassies is influenced by several factors. Having representatives in major powers, allies, strategic or economic partners or strategic and economic interests that require developed relations, balance, reciprocity and universality - both for the states that pursue a world policy and those that are newly established - diasporas, and economic capacities are among the reasons that motivate to establish embassies. (Barston, 2013, 23-4) Not all states have embassies in the states they have diplomatic relations. Sometimes they carry out relations through other means or countries. For this reason representation does not only mean symbolic or ceremonial representation. Diplomatic agents present the stance and interests of their states in the receiving states and many other functions of diplomacy, monitoring, information gathering, protection of citizens and development of relations are all related to this kind of representation.

Monitoring the receiving state is one of the oldest functions of diplomacy. The aim of monitoring is to gather information about the receiving state and report this information to the sending state. Each state wants to gather as much information as they can, and provide only selective or manipulated information about themselves and keep the rest unrevealed. In the days that the information technology was not so developed diplomatic reports would constitute the main source information. But today, diplomatic reports are only one of resources of gathering information and not even considered the most efficient one. There are different methods of monitoring and

gathering information. Gathering intelligence secretly or through intelligence agencies are among these ways. But these cannot be listed among the functions of diplomacy. When we talk about monitoring and information gathering within the context of diplomacy, we mean the public and official ways of doing so.

The informative function of diplomacy is not one sided and the diplomats are also responsible for providing information about their state and its policies to the government of the receiving state. They explain or at times may have to defend their state as part of their mission. This task becomes especially important during times of crises or conflict. At this times it is the expected duty of diplomacy to reduce the tension, provide a clear flow of information between the sides and bring solutions to the conflict. For this reason the communicative skills are crucial in the world of diplomacy.

Protection of citizens of the sending state is another function of diplomacy. This is a very narrow sense of diplomacy but is one of the traditional functions of diplomacy that has not lost its significance. On the contrary, the protection of citizens has become even more important as the mobility of people has increased considerably. People now travel more, work and live abroad more and consequently need the assistance and protection of their states more. Besides many people are affected by international conflicts, in which case the diplomatic missions are again called into duty.

Another function of diplomacy is described as "contribution to international order." This function refers to "the creation, drafting and amendment of a wide variety of international rules of a normative and regulatory kind that provide structure in the international system" and contribute "to the creation of universal rules." (Barston, 2013, 3)

Taking into account all these tasks, diplomacy proves that it has not lost its significance. On the contrary, the important role it carries has forced it to develop new means, widen its scope, include new actors and diversify its tools. For this reason, as Devetak et. al. points out we can imagine a future without the state, but we cannot imagine any future without diplomacy. (Devetak et.al.:2012: 266)

Theories of Diplomacy

In order to understand the essence of diplomacy, its theory has to be studied too, as well its practice. With the emergence of the modern state system, political thinkers, diplomats, statesmen, jurists began to write about the theory of diplomacy, mostly in the sense that refers to interstate relations. As the international system evolved, the theories of diplomacy have also diversified. In the 20th century diplomatic theory came to be studied along with international relations theory.

Early Diplomatic Theories

It is generally accepted that modern diplomacy practices the started in Italy. As early practices of diplomacy started in Italy, early theories of diplomacy were also formulated there. One of the earlier of these theories belongs to **Niccolò Machiavelli**. Machiavelli's formulation of diplomacy is based on his experience of serving as diplomat of Florence, his home city, until the fall of the republic in Florence in 1512. During his career Machiavelli took part in the foreign relations of Florence with both other Italian city-states and foreign countries. His theory of diplomacy can be read through his works *The Prince*, *The Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livy* and *The History of Florence*. Diplomacy, according to Machiavelli, must be permanent, in the sense that states should have diplomatic representatives, at least in those countries that they have high interests whether they are allies or enemies. Still even though he himself was a diplomat, Machiavelli believed that military power was more important than diplomacy. But because not all states had enough military power to pursue their aims, they needed diplomacy. Diplomacy according to Machiavelli is based on deception. This assumption of diplomacy is closely related to Machiavelli's conception of human nature which he defines as "For it can be said about men in general that they are ungrateful, fickle, dissembling, hypocritical, cowardly, and greedy." Therefore the diplomat can use deceptions, tricks and schemes in order to maximise the state's interest in its relations with other states. The diplomat's duties according to Machiavelli, is to encourage the prince to whom he is accredited to pursue policies congenial to the interests of his own prince, and to refuse to contemplate policies hostile to them,

which might well involve sabotaging the activities of diplomatic rivals; to submit advice on policy to his own prince, and at all costs defend his own prince's reputation; to engage in formal negotiations, and to obtain information and reporting it home; including prediction of future developments using his of judgement. (Berridge, 2001a, 16-19) As can be seen these are still defined among the tasks of diplomats in modern international relations, with little or no difference at all. Machiavelli warns the Prince about the deceptive nature of diplomacy is conducted and advises him not hesitate to use the methods in foreign relations. But he does not mean that states cannot conduct reliable relations. This depends on the state system; republics, according to Machiavelli, are more reliable than principalities when it comes agreements they did with other states because they have more moral virtue since their governments need to be responsive to the people, have more respect for law in general, their officials are of better quality and their constitutions require the reconciliation of divergent views, which makes their decision-making simply much slower. (Berridge, 2001a, 14)

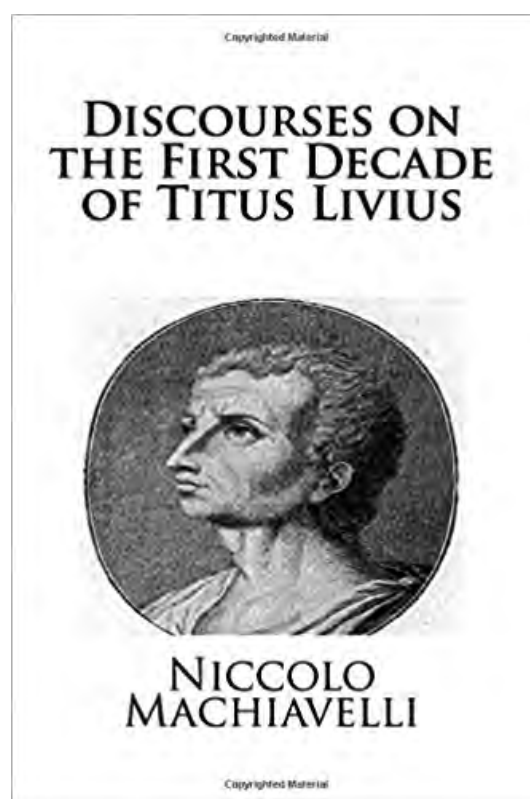


Figure 1.2 The cover of he Discourses on the First Ten Books of Titus Livy

Another Florentine diplomat who has contributed to the theory of diplomacy is **Francesco Guicciardini**. The main theme in Guicciardini's theory, which is generally outlined in his *History of Italy*, is the value of good ambassadors, which he sees as a source of prestige for the prince. According to him a well trained, qualified ambassador is a sign of value of the prince as well and should be rewarded. He also draws attention to the relation between the prince and the ambassador and says that the prince should share his aims with the ambassador and not keep secrets from him for the sake of his mission. If the ambassador knows what the prince wants, he will pursue it to the end. Besides if the secrets kept from the ambassador are to be revealed, this would harm the credibility of the ambassador towards other states. What is significant about Guicciardini's theory is that information flow between diplomats and political leaders is still an issue that is discussed in modern diplomacy. As mentioned before, political leaders tend to take control of the diplomatic relations since 19th century and have been pushing diplomats aside gradually. This has been furthered especially after the communication technologies have made instant communication between leaders possible. In this case many leaders do not feel the need to inform their diplomats and consequently they may find themselves in difficult positions. Guicciardini has pointed out the harm this could make to their prestige and the state prestige almost five hundred years ago. Another diplomatic issue that Guicciardini dwells upon is conditions and methods to be employed in negotiations between states. The first thing states should be careful about negotiations is that timing should be right, it should not be premature, which would make successful negotiations impossible. Once the negotiations start on the right time, the states should not reveal the end that they pursue, in order to finally reach this end, or at least close to it, as a result of the negotiations. However it may be inevitable for one or both sides to make compromises since it is in the nature of negotiations to comprise if states want to reach an agreement. Having compromised or any other reason should not be an excuse for noncompliance and according to Guicciardini and the agreements that are issued after negotiations, considered as a promise, should be kept.



Figure 1.3 Cover of History of Italy

Another contributor of the diplomatic theory is Hugo **Grotius**, who is a great opponent of war and deems it acceptable when it is just, and for this reason according to him diplomacy has a vital role. His work *Three Books On the Law of War and Peace* is the reflection of this approach. He defines three methods to accommodate misunderstandings among states without a war. (Grotius, 1121-1127) The first of these methods is the conference method. The second method is arbitration between parties who do not belong to the same jurisdiction and have no common judge to appeal to, which he considers to be not only convenient but necessary that "Congresses of Christian states were held, where, by them who are no ways interested on one side or other, the differences of contending parties might be made up; and that some means were thought upon to oblige the parties at variance to accept of a peace upon fair and reasonable terms." What Grotius has suggested is still an important method of conflict resolution in international relations and considered as one of the main functions of diplomacy. The third and the last method to prevent war according to Grotius is to cast lots. Another diplomatic issue



Figure 1.4 GUGo Grotius

in Grotius's theory is related to diplomatic representation, which he sees as an attribute of sovereignty. As mentioned before also in modern diplomacy having diplomatic missions in other countries or international organisations are considered a clear sign of state sovereignty. According to Grotius having established ambassadors may only be employed by rulers with sovereign powers in their relations with similar rulers. Once diplomatic representation is established and ambassadors arrive they should have - in today's terms - diplomatic privileges and immunity. According to Grotius the safety of the ambassadors would not be provided if they were to give an account of their actions according to the laws of the receiving state, since reasons of the sending state and receiving state would be different and even contrary, in which case there could be occasions that the actions of the ambassador may look criminal according to one state and not criminal according to the other. (Grotius, 910-911) Their suite and property were also within the scope of this immunity according to Grotius. This way Grotius also lays the ground for one of the essential elements for modern diplomacy, without which diplomats could not work efficiently. Another point in Grotius' theory about diplomatic

representation is the cases in which states may refuse to accept an ambassador of a certain state. First of all the state may not want to receive a diplomat from a state it considers as enemy or wicked. The second case may be the rejection of the person that is sent by a state due to his beliefs or his character. The last reason for objecting an ambassador would be the suspicion that he is sent for some reason that could damage the receiving state's interests. These also have become practices of modern diplomacy and states can refuse to receive diplomats on certain grounds or may just ask them to leave in some cases if they have already been received.

French statesmen **Richelieu** has also formulated ideas on diplomacy. His theory of diplomacy can be derived from his *Political Testament*, in which he has penned political advice for Louis XIII. Having become



Figure 1.5 The cover of Political Testament

the French prime minister in an age of continuous wars, Richelieu's main concern was to establish peace and carry out peaceful relations with other states. For this reason he attributed great significance to diplomacy. The main theme of Richelieu's theory is negotiations. According to Richelieu negotiations must be continuous and directed by a single person - the foreign minister - otherwise they would not be successful or effective. "He who negotiates continuously" he says "will finally find the right instant to attain his ends." (Richelieu:95) The idea of permanent diplomacy headed by the ministers of foreign affairs would come to dominate diplomacy in the next centuries and is still considered the core of diplomacy. The appointment of public offices of the ministry and ambassadors is a crucial task in Richelieu's theory since the whole conduct of foreign policy is reserved to them. Their actions would be binding for their monarch that they are acting on behalf of. According to Richelieu any agreement that is reached at the end of negotiations should be applied by all parties, since otherwise the reputation and the power of the monarch would be questioned by others. In his words "I maintain that loss of honour is worse then the loss of life itself.... A great prince should sooner put in jeopardy both his own interests and even those of the state than break his word, which he can never violate without losing his reputation and by consequence the greatest instrument of sovereigns." (Richelieu,102) Richelieu also

dwells upon the issue of leagues, which he describes as fruitful but still warns against them stating that a great prince should not “embark voluntarily on the founding of a league designed for some difficult objective unless he is strong enough to carry it out alone should his allies decide to desert him” as he believes that unions are never too secure when headed by several sovereigns. (Richelieu,101)

Diplomatic Theories and International Relations

The first significant diplomatic writer of the twentieth century is **Ernest Satow**. Satow owes his reputation in diplomatic theory to his book *Guide to Diplomatic Practice*, which was the first remarkable book in English language about the theory and practice of diplomacy when it was published in 1917. It is a comprehensive study which covers not only the roles and functioning of diplomatic institutions and actors but also gives a historical account of diplomacy. Satow's novelty lies in the fact that his concept of diplomacy was wider than that of other nineteenth-century writers as he placed diplomatic activity into a wider, political context. (Otte, 2001a, 139) He studies diplomatic tradition, international politics and diplomacy as an instrument of statecraft as a whole. Diplomatic relations were to be regulated by international law, which equalises states. But in practice international community is not based on equality according to Satow and Great Powers, which dominate the international society with predominant military and naval power, should act as a committee that could be called into action in case a minor state does not comply with the concert of Europe. He sees congresses and conferences as means of Great Power politics. Even though he attributes great significance to diplomacy and international law in interstate relations, Satow also believes that these are not enough to provide state security in an international system without supreme authority and for these reasons states should also count on their own military power.



Figure 1.6 The Cover of Guide to Diplomatic Practice

Satow viewed diplomacy as a highly specialised activity, subject only to its own rules and principles and hence believed that even though diplomatic manners and techniques may change with time, the essence of sound diplomacy does not. (Otte, 2001a,131) He mentions in this context that due to the opportunity of faster communication through telegram the diplomatic methods are “less subtle and tortuous” ... (Satow, 1932, 87) putting forward a phenomena - the communication revolution - that still transforms diplomacy in the twenty-first century. In any case a diplomatist according to Satow must be on his guard to protect the dignity of the state which he presents. In terms of diplomatic representation Satow says that “every recognised independent state is held to be entitled to send diplomatic agents to represent its interests in other states, and reciprocally to receive such agents.” (Satow, 1932, 110) These agents carry out important roles, which Satow describes as “to watch over the maintenance of good relations, to protect the interests of his countrymen, and to report to his government on all matters of real importance, without being always charged with the conduct

of a specific negotiation. At the more important posts, the agent is assisted in furnishing reports of a special character by military, naval and commercial attache” (Satow, 1932, 109) He also admits that secret agents would be used but underlines the importance of honesty in relations. He was also an opponent of open diplomacy and claimed that for mutual understanding and trust, diplomatic negotiations should be carried in secrecy.



Figure 1.7 Harold Nicolson

Another British diplomat who has contributed to diplomatic theory is **Harold Nicolson**. Like Satow he combined his experience with the history of diplomacy. In his book titled *Diplomacy*, which was published in 1939, a whole chapter is dedicated to the development of diplomatic theory. According to him principles that has evolved from the Greek, Roman and Christian thought have laid the bases that Western civilisation was built on and these principles should not be abandoned. This also applies to the interstate relations and the principles that states should follow in their relations with the others are formulated as international law. Therefore, diplomacy is also shaped by these principles. Still he accepts that in international relations it is not only principles that are determinant but also power plays an important role. In that sense he was a supporter of the balance of power system even though this system failed with World War I. Having served and written in this critical time in history when diplomacy was also transforming Nicolson has also made a differentiation between old and new diplomacy. Although he underlines that there has not been a sharp change in terms of diplomatic practice, the main reason underlying the transformation of diplomacy was the change in state

systems. Following the War, many monarchies were replaced by republics. In fact the process of transition of authority from the monarch to the governments was going on since the nineteenth century, but early twentieth century witnessed the spread and strengthening of this structure. As he defines it, “... when during the course of the nineteenth century, the old theories of diplomacy appeared to be adopting new shapes, it was intact not the diplomatists who were undergoing a change of heart but the political systems which they represented.” (Nicolson, 1942, 70) According to Nicolson this led to many of the disasters of diplomacy “due to the fact that this fully representative quality has not been, on one side or the other, full secured” since governments fall and are succeeded by their opponents, who may or may not follow the same line of policy. (Nicolson, 1942, 68) Nicolson’s theory draws attention the difficult relation between diplomacy and domestic policy. The change of policy with the change of governments is closely related to the fact that these new governments are elected and are accountable to their voters and their concerns. At this point there appears the question of being liable to the public, which will be a more and more important issue in diplomacy throughout the twentieth and twenty-first century with the development of public diplomacy. (See below.)

Another important writer who should be mentioned is **Hans Morgenthau**, who is considered the founder of international relations. Morgenthau’s theory, which he portrayed in his 1948 book *Politics Among Nations*, can also be read as a contribution to the theory of diplomacy although not dedicated to it. Morgenthau sees the quality of diplomacy as the most important of all the factors which make the power of a nation, since it is diplomacy that brings the different elements of national power to bear with maximum effect upon those points in the international situation which concern the national interest most directly. (Morgenthau, 1948, 105) Morgenthau defines the aim of diplomacy as the promotion of national interest by peace and has four tasks in accordance with this aim: determining its objectives in the light of the power actually and potentially available for the pursuit of these objectives; assessing the objectives of other nations and the power actually and potentially available for the pursuit of these objectives; determining to what extent these different objectives are compatible with

each other and employing the means suited to the pursuit of these objectives. (Morgenthau, 1948, 419) The quality of diplomacy to achieve these tasks is determined by tradition and institution. He believes that it should not be individuals, may it be diplomats, foreign ministers or heads of state, who are the bearers of diplomacy. According to him “the guidance of tradition would protect a poor diplomacy from catastrophic blunders and make a mediocre diplomacy look better than it actually is.” (Morgenthau, 1948, 108) In connection with defining the quality of diplomacy with tradition, what Nicolson sees as transition from old diplomacy to new diplomacy, Morgenthau sees as the decline of diplomacy, starting at the end of the First World War. This is also related to Morgenthau’s approach that a diplomacy which ends in war has failed its objective. Having witnessed two world wars Morgenthau not surprisingly considers diplomacy on decline. The reasons of this decline according to Morgenthau are the development of communications, depreciation of diplomacy due to the public opinion that secret diplomatic negotiations were responsible for the world war, institutionalisation of diplomacy by parliamentary procedures though international organisations like League of Nations and United Nations, emergence of super powers as new actors of diplomacy, and the nature of world politics with the emergence of these superpowers and bipolar international system. (Morgenthau, 1948, 425-430) Still this decline of diplomacy is not inevitable and revival is possible. Morgenthau lists four fundamental rules, which can only be neglected at the risk of war, and four prerequisites of compromise for this revival. (Morgenthau, 1948, 439-443) The fundamental rules are; being divested of the crusading spirit, defining the objectives of foreign policy in terms of national interest and supporting them with adequate power, looking at the political scene from the point of view of other nations and being willing to compromise on all issues that are not vital. The prerequisites of compromise on the other hand are, giving up the shadow of worthless rights of substance of real advantage, never putting yourself in a position from which you cannot retreat without losing face and from which you cannot advance without grave risks, never allowing a weak ally to make decisions for you and seeing the armed forces as the instrument of foreign policy not as its master.

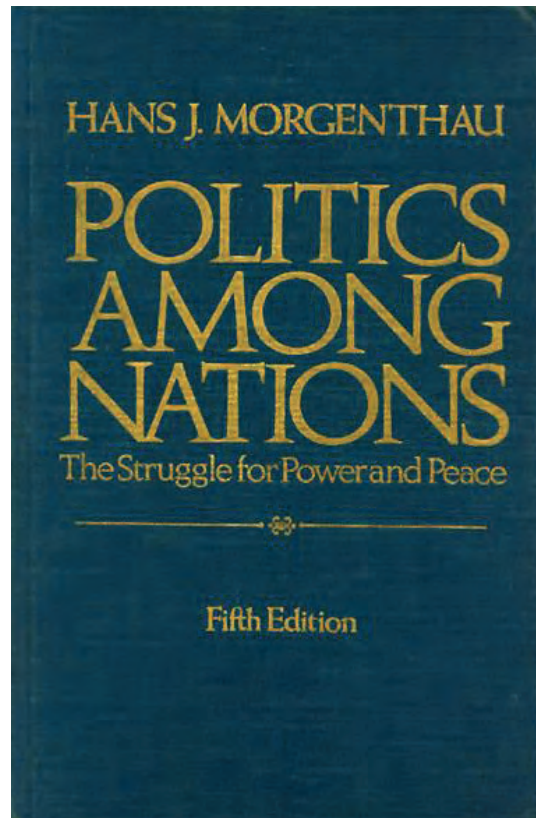


Figure 1.8 Cover of Politics Among Nations

The last diplomatist/writer to be discussed in this chapter is **Henry Kissinger**. Kissinger’s famous work titled *Diplomacy* can actually be read as a history book and on many occasions he has been described as a historian. He does believe that international politics cannot be seized by only theoretical approach and for this reason the study of history is crucial. For Kissinger diplomacy had a secondary role and is dependent upon politics and statesman. As a realist like Morgenthau, Kissinger accepts the states are the main actors of international system, which is a scene of struggle for power and national interest. Diplomacy is an instrument in conducting relations among these actors by peaceful means. Indeed peace, stability and order were his main objectives about international politics but he cannot help but say the will to establish this kind of international order does not mean that it can be achieved, on the contrary he says “the active quest for peace ... is not only unending but also least likely to achieve its destination.” and warns that “whenever peace...has been the primary objective of a power or group of powers, the international system has been at the mercy of the most ruthless

member of the international community.” (Otte, 2001b, 191) Although peace and stability cannot be perfect, an efficient stability can be achieved through balance of power system. Order on the other hand, can only be secured through physical precautions. Indeed, even though he describes diplomacy in terms of peaceful means, he does not exclude military means from diplomacy. According to Kissinger states have influence as much as their military power. He therefore claims that military power and diplomacy should go hand in hand for a successful foreign policy. Still he considers the main tool of diplomacy is negotiations.



Figure 1.9 Henry Kissinger



your turn ¹

“According to an approach the recent developments in technology and the involvement of new issues and actors have actually brought the end of diplomacy. Do you agree?”

DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS

Diplomacy has a wide scope with many different actors. Even when states are accepted as the main actor of diplomacy, diplomacy takes shapes depending on the characteristics of the state. Besides the debate over whether the sovereign states are less powerful and hence less important has been on the agenda of international relations for a long time and remains unconcluded. Nevertheless it is a fact that states have given up their certain powers in favour of other actors on several levels and this also has led to the emergence of different diplomatic engagements.

Diplomacy Between States

In very broad terms it is possible to separate diplomatic relations between states into two, depending on the number of actors, as bilateral diplomacy and multilateral diplomacy. Whereas **bilateral diplomacy** defines relations between two states multilateral diplomacy defines the relations between more than two such actors. As is defined in the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, the establishment of diplomatic relations between States, and of permanent diplomatic missions, takes place by mutual consent. (Article 2) Establishing diplomatic relations is only one of the facets of recognition for states. Likewise being accepted to an international organisation is a sign of acceptance in a broader sense. Recognition by itself does not require the establishment of diplomatic relations but is a necessary prerequisite for establishing diplomatic relations. Similarly breaking of diplomatic relations does not mean the withdrawal of recognition. Breaking up of diplomatic relations is a unilateral act, realised by an announcement of any of the states, on the contrary to bilateral agreement of establishment. States establish mutual relations usually with an agreement that can be in the fashion of an announcement, a joint decision, exchange of notes or issuing of a communiqué and in some rare cases states just encounter without any kind of agreement but just the implication of having agreed to have relations. The next step in interstate relations after recognition and establishment of diplomatic relations would be to send and receive diplomatic representatives and establishing embassies.



Figure 1.10

Communiqué

An agreed statement issued at the end of a summit meeting or other high-level visit or multilateral conference. Occasionally described as declarations, communiqués are designed to give the public some sense of what has been discussed under each head on the agenda and also suggest the substance of any consensus achieved on future policy. (Berridge and James, 2003, 45)



Figure 1.11

Congress of Westphalia (1644–48).

The congress at which an end to the Thirty Years' War was negotiated. The main fruits of the negotiations were the two treaties of peace signed on 24 October 1648 known collectively as either the "Treaty" or the "Peace" of Westphalia. They are generally reckoned to have resolved the structure and codified the constitutional rules of the European states-system as it had emerged from the unity of medieval Christendom. Thereafter, it has not been unusual to see the term "Westphalian system" used to describe the post-1648 system of international relations, i.e. that in which states – secular, sovereign, independent, and equal – are the members, and stability is preserved by the balance of power, diplomacy and international law. (Berridge and James, 2003, 276-7)

Having diplomatic relations with a state does not necessarily mean having good relations. States may sometimes have very bad relations or have periods of crises and even get involved in small scale armed conflicts but still carry on their diplomatic relations. When states go into conflict with each other diplomacy gets involved in several ways. First of all as it is the means of communication between states, they declare their position through diplomacy. If ending the relations is in question, diplomatic missions are called back. But again this does not necessarily mean that communication between states has to stop. They can still communicate within the context of diplomacy through intermediaries, meetings organised at international organisations or use some non-diplomatic methods like establishing non-diplomatic offices, setting up non-diplomatic local arrangements to deal with continuing bilateral issues and signalling which may consist of subtle hints dropped in leaders' speeches or a change in voting behaviour on a matter which regularly comes before the General Assembly of the United Nations (James, 2016, 265-266)

Multi-lateral diplomacy is an outcome of modern diplomacy, which came to exist after the Congress of Westphalia and usually functions through conferences. (See below: Conference Diplomacy) An important step towards multilateral diplomacy was the establishment League of Nations following the end of the First World War. What was novel about the League of Nations, especially in terms of diplomacy was that it served as permanent base for multilateral diplomacy which used be carried out through conferences that met for once and for some days only. Another phenomena that pushed the development of multilateral diplomacy was the significant increase in the number of states since 1945. Multilateral diplomacy has both strengths and weaknesses. On the weak side it may bring certain issues to a gridlock by any of the parties if a desired outcome is not reached. This may postpone or even sweep away the possibility of any solution. On the strong side it serves as a ground for cooperation. This cooperation can be directed to problem-solving as well as goal-setting in issues concerning the parties, which at times may include all states as in the case of League of Nations or United Nations. In such cases it also serves as a platform of norm creation. In any case multilateral diplomacy provides the opportunity for all the involving parties to participate in resolutions and higher their possibly of implementation.

Great Power Diplomacy

A Great Power is generally described as a state that has influence in international relations. This influence mostly derives from state capabilities such as territory, strategic position and geographical extent, population, resources, military strength, political stability and strong economy. To these must also be added the elements of soft power, which is described as “the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments.” There should also be a consensus about which state is a great power. Congress of Vienna and the Holy and Quadruple Aliences are the first significant appearances of great power diplomacy. Both the Congress and the series of congresses that followed were dominated by the Great Powers. They did not meet in a single assembly (plenary) which would have allowed the smaller powers a larger voice in proceedings. (Devetak et.al.,2012, 260) Although the congresses ended shortly after the Congress of Vienna, the rest of the period till the First World War was shaped by the domination of Great Powers and the alliances, which brought a relative period of peace known as the Concert of Europe. Since then post-war settlements and peace processes have been major objectives for great power diplomacy. With the failure of these attempts with the Second World War, great power diplomacy was institutionalised with the permanent members of the United Nations Security Council. The main shape great power diplomacy took in the Cold War Period was superpower diplomacy in a bipolar international system. End of the Cold War brought along a new type of great power diplomacy, which can be described as hegemonic diplomacy. Represented by USA in the post-Cold War era, hegemonic diplomacy included not only bilateral and multilateral diplomacy but also unilateral diplomacy in inter-state relations. Still major powers in the international system carry out the old way of great power diplomacy through summits that they are represented by the head of states. (See below: Summit Diplomacy).

Congress of Vienna (1815)

The congress of the powers, which restored the international order in Europe following the protracted convulsions of the Napoleonic Wars. For diplomacy, the Regulation which it agreed solved at long last the serious problem of precedence, while the restoration of the Swiss Confederation and the guarantee by the Congress of Switzerland's permanent neutrality fortified a tradition which was subsequently to prove of considerable value to the world diplomatic system. (Berridge and Alan, 2003, 272)

Concert of Europe

The term used to describe the main historical model of great power management of a states-system, that of nineteenth century Europe following the Congress of Vienna. (Berridge and Alan, 2003, 47)

Middle Power Diplomacy

The term middle power refers to the states which have neither the capacity nor the claim to be great power but have more strength and influence than the small states. These states are usually accepted to be established democracies, industrialised and affluent economies, managed by efficient public bureaucracies with a low incidence of corruption and adopt functional rather than dominant behaviours towards their geographical neighbourhoods. (Spies, 2016, 284) Middle power diplomacy is usually a multilateral diplomacy. This is because they lack the sources to be influential in unilateral and bilateral actions. Thus they prefer to establish alliances and coalitions with like-minded states, which would provide them a chance of leadership and influence. Middle powers perceive international institutions as the ideal framework for governing international affairs and strive to provide multilateral solutions to global problems and they also engage in multilateral activism to overcome a lack of bargaining power at the unilateral and bilateral level, and gain legality, legitimacy and

moral authority for their assertive diplomatic initiatives. (Efsthopoulos, 2018, 55) Because they lack the sources hard power they focus on developing their soft power. The common national attributes of middle powers – domestic orderliness and adherence to human rights, democracy and good governance – also make them international role models for many other states in the diplomatic arena. (Spies, 2016, 285) Their approach to the international system is also in terms of peace, order and the rule of law. They make useful intermediaries during international crises and conflicts. Their foreign policy goals are formulated in the same respect. They aim to reduce conflicts in the international system thorough multilateralism, negotiation and compromise and are willing to take the lead in such attempts. In order to reach this, they also give financial support or official development assistance to countries that are struggling economically.

Small State Diplomacy

Being a small state means to have relatively less power in the international system. They usually have small territory and population, low sources and income, weak economy and military, and high vulnerability. As a consensus is deemed necessary for a state to be considered a great power, considering itself a small state is criteria for describing small states, as this a factor that shapes their behaviours. For this reason, diplomacy becomes more important for these states than is for any other state as a tool of overcoming their vulnerability and weakness. Small power diplomacy became a part of modern diplomacy early in the twentieth century following the end of the First World War, when a number of new independent states appeared with the collapse of empires. Another important development in this sense was decolonisation and the emergence of new independent states in the international system. A common feature of the diplomacy of small states as new states, is the importance that they attach to diplomatic representation. As it is a sign of recognition and sovereignty, having representatives in other states and international organisations has been and is still an important part of diplomatic relations for the newly independent and small states. This is especially true for establishing embassies in the capitals of major powers even though they do not always respond by establishing one in the small state. Therefore, diplomatic representatives are still important actors for these states in terms of their diplomacies. Still due to insufficiency in economic resources, some of them cannot afford to establish embassies in many countries and have to keep this attempt limited. The same applies to improvement of their soft power and means of public diplomacy. (See below: Public diplomacy) Only a minority of the small states have the resources to invest in the elements of soft power in order to become a more influential international actor.

The only way that these states gain influence is to act together. While some of the new states of the post Second World War era sided with one of the superpowers of the Cold War, others chose not to be a part

of it and started the Non-Aligned Movement, bringing a new dynamic to the international system. Forming a block that brings them together and acting under the roof of this block provided states a cumulative power that each single of them lack. In the same sense they also prefer multilateral diplomacy to bilateral one. Therefore, United Nations presents them an important opportunity where they can both act as a group that holds a significant number of votes, and carry out bilateral relations by coming together with the representatives of other countries. This is especially important for those countries that do not have wide network of embassies. The collective power of the small state diplomacy has also contributed the development of international law. They have for instance enabled the entry into force conventions, as was the case with the 1982 Convention on the Law of the Sea, which has entered into force with the ratification of states such as Malta, Honduras,

Non-Aligned Movement

The movement consisting for the most part of Third World states which had as its rationale a determination to resist pressure to abandon their non-aligned stance of refusing to join either of the military alliance systems. Its origins are to be found in a summit meeting held in Bandung in Indonesia in April 1955, though it was not formally launched (in Belgrade, Yugoslavia) until 1961. Since the Lusaka summit in 1970, summit meetings of members have been held triennially. (Berridge and Alan, 2003, 186)

St Vincent and the Grenadines, Barbados and Guyana in November 1994 – without ratification or accession at that time by major powers. (Barston, 2013, 8) Another example is the establishment of International Criminal Court after United Nations General Assembly asked the International Law Commission to resume the work on an international criminal court in 1989 upon the request of Trinidad and Tobago.

Diplomacy of Non-State Actors

The proliferation of non-state actors in diplomacy has become necessary due the fact that states are no longer capable of responding to all the issues that has entered the agenda of international diplomacy, as mentioned before. Non-state actors of diplomacy include non-governmental organisations, corporations, as well as the intergovernmental organisations. The oldest group of actors in this category are the intergovernmental organisations, which still is a form of state representation. International organisations usually come in the form of regional organisations or regardless of region maybe established on other grounds such as common resources, the level of the economy, proximity on important issues or historical legacy (Rana, 2011, 51) Regional organisations serve as a tool that states of a region my act as a block that could make them more powerful and influential. It is also an instrument in establishing regional peace and stability, which would again contribute to the power components of the states. In the same context, states also can form regional organisations that are based on economic cooperation that would provide them certain advantages over the non-member states. Free trade is the most prominent of these advantages. Economic cooperation also serves as a platform for deeper political, security collaboration. The same factors apply to non-regional organisations as well. Having established a cooperation based on commonalities gives states an opportunity to enhance their power in international relations.

In the face of global economic, social, humanitarian and environmental crises as states proved to be insufficient of answering all these problems and non-state actors such as nongovernmental organisations, social movements, businesses, and corporations offered more efficient

solutions to these problems, either by themselves or in cooperation with state actors. This has made them indispensable actors for diplomacy. The diplomatic relations of these actors with state actors is defined by the term **polylateralism**, which brings a third dimension in diplomacy, in addition to bilateralism and multilateralism. Polyilateralism is the conduct of relations between official entities (such as a state, several states acting together, or a state-based international organisation) and at least one unofficial, non-state entity in which there is a reasonable expectation of systematic relationships, involving some form of reporting, communication, negotiation, and representation, but not involving mutual recognition as sovereign, equivalent entities. (Wiseman, 2010: 27).



your turn ²

“Do you agree that multilateral diplomacy is a useful ground for small state diplomacy?”

TYPES OF DIPLOMACY

The constantly widening world of diplomacy requires different methods applied to different cases. This has led to the formulation of different types of diplomacy. Some of them are those that have been used by states for a very long time. But some are relative new and probably would not be considered as diplomacy in the nineteenth or even the significant part of the twentieth century. There is a big variety of diplomacies in this sense. It is not in the capacity of this chapter to dwell upon them all but the most important will be examined.

Secret Diplomacy

It is to everyone's knowledge that a major part of diplomacy is carried out in secrecy. Secret diplomacy refers to diplomatic engagements that take place without the knowledge of the public. However it does not mean that the diplomatic meetings that occur behind closed doors are secret diplomacy. If the term was defined in this way, almost all diplomatic intercourse would have to be defined as secret diplomacy. Neither does it mean confidentiality. What is meant by secret diplomacy

is that the very existence of certain diplomatic meetings are kept secret from domestic and foreign publics. In some cases although the existence of the diplomatic engagement is not denied, it is intentionally kept away from the attention of the public. This would be another type of diplomacy called quiet diplomacy.

The question of whether diplomacy should be open or secret is being discussed since the First World War by the theoreticians and practitioners of diplomacy. According to the advocates of secret diplomacy, if it would be for the general good it is better to keep diplomatic engagements in secret. This approach claims that open negotiations put pressure on the diplomatic actors and affect the success of the negotiations. Especially if it is a peace negotiation in question, for the sake of it, the process which may include bargaining and concessions should not be shared with the public in order to avoid reaction that can hamper the peace process. Opponents of secret diplomacy on the other hand, base their arguments mainly on the fact that secrecy, especially in contemporary world, is very difficult to maintain and when eventually the truth is revealed it could raise questions, suspicions and probably misperceptions and reaction of all kinds both in the other members of international community and domestic public and politics.

Conference and Summit Diplomacies

Conference diplomacy refers to the multilateral diplomatic negotiations that take place in international conferences. But this does not necessarily mean that all negotiations also occur with the participation of all actors. Bilateral or limited multilateral negotiations also take place among the participants of conference diplomacy. Conference diplomacy can be divided into two according to the way they take place; through international organisations or ad hoc. International organisations provide a permanent and stable base, with wide participation, defined context, established structure, experienced and specialised assistance. Accordingly it is more likely to expect agreed and implemented outcomes. Ad hoc conferences on the other hand are one-time events that are organised for the negotiation of a given conflict. In terms of their objectives on the other hand it

is possible to make a more detailed classification following Kaufmann who offers two different types of classifications. (Kaufmann, 1996,11-16) The broad one differs between a deliberative conference, which concentrates on general discussions and exchanges of points of view on certain topics; a legislative conference which endeavours to make recommendations to governments or makes decisions which are binding upon governments; and an informal conference, which has as its main purpose the international exchange of information on specific questions. A more detailed classification on the other hand identifies eight objectives for diplomatic conferences; to serve as a forum for general discussion of broad or specific issues; to make decisions binding upon governments; to make decisions giving guidance or instructions to the secretariat of an intergovernmental organisation, or on the way in which a programme financed by governments should be administered; to negotiate and draft a treaty or other formal international instrument; to provide for the international exchange of information; to provide for the pledging of voluntary contributions to international programmes; to review progress under an agreement or a treaty concluded earlier.



Figure 1.12 Congress of Vienna

Another critical aspect of conference diplomacy is about how the decisions are taken, since this also has an important impact on their implementation afterwards, especially for those conferences with big participation. The wide participation in the conference and its resolutions is an important source of legitimacy for diplomatic negotiations and their resolutions. But on the other hand, it is a factor that complicates the decision making. Decisions can be taken with unanimity, consensus,

and simple or qualified majority voting. Unanimity means that all parties have to agree on the final decision. Consensus means that all votes are in favour of the decision and there are no votes against, although there may be some abstentions. Simple majority refers the more than half of the votes whereas qualified majority refers to certain number votes that is required to finalise a decision. There may also be a mixture of different voting systems in certain cases.

Another determinant in conference diplomacy is the power of the states. Although each state is equally represented in conference and therefore it would be expected that they would diminish the power gaps, great powers usually tend to dominate the conferences. In many cases this helps the conference to reach a conclusion but it disturbs other states and hampers the implementation of the resolutions. There are also the cases that great powers themselves do not comply with the decisions of the conference. Small states, on the other hand, can create a source of power for themselves through alliances. For this reason, conference diplomacy is a platform they apply more frequently.

Political leaders have always been determinant agents of diplomatic conferences since the Congress of Vienna, when tsar Alexander of Russia decided to represent his country himself, but their roles have also increased in the meantime, replacing the diplomats in many cases. This has led to the development of a branch of diplomacy called summit diplomacy. **Summit diplomacy** refers to the meetings of heads of states or governments. It can be bilateral, bringing the leaders of two states together or multilateral with the participation of several leaders. It also can be ad-hoc or institutionalised and regularly take place. Developments in communications and transport technologies have made it easier for leaders to come together and presented a ground for the spread of summit diplomacy.

Coercive Diplomacy

Coercive diplomacy defines the use of limited force or the threat of using force in diplomatic relations, with the aim of achieving desired ends. This makes coercive diplomacy a type of engagement that differs from the generally

accepted conceptualisation that diplomacy involves peaceful means in interstate relations. For those who define diplomatic methods only in peaceful terms, coercion would only mean that diplomacy has failed. But on the other hand, it is a fact that coercion is one of the oldest methods used in diplomacy. The success of coercive diplomacy depends on the outcomes that are aimed and the way that it is used. Coercion “should only be employed reactively to stop or undo undesirable actions already undertaken by an opponent” and should be about influencing or avoiding rather than defeating or winning. (Jakobsen, 2016, 478) Likewise if force or the threat of it, are the only means, the chances of success would not be high. Instead it should be supported by positive influence and encouragements and provide some guarantees and assurances. Therefore, coercion should not aim at a long term solution but an instrument that brings the parties to discuss and find a solution. This way the use of coercive means would also be considered legitimate. The most legitimate use of coercive diplomacy is to avoid or to stop armed conflicts and wars.

A version of coercive diplomacy is **military diplomacy** which can be described as the use of force or threat of it to achieve military goals. The use of naval force for the same ends is referred to as **gunboat diplomacy**. For some definitions and theories of diplomacy, which take the terms only within the context of peace, military and diplomacy cannot exist together and hence there cannot be a military diplomacy. But military means have almost always been on the diplomacy table. What has changed about military diplomacy is that whereas it had traditionally been used or claimed to be used for national security reasons, it transformed to include stopping armed conflict between third parties or preventing them from happening and assisting a third country develop its military forces. A term often confused with military diplomacy is **defence diplomacy**, which actually is carried out by civil politicians of the ministry. But as the two groups of actors usually act together the line between two types of diplomacy also gets blurred.

Crisis Diplomacy

Crisis diplomacy defines the international efforts to manage and solve a crises. The need for crisis diplomacy has increased significantly since the world has become more interconnected and a crisis occurring in one region of the world becomes the concern of other states, on both regional and international level. New types of global crises, such as humanitarian, economic, environmental or health crises necessitate the involvement of many state and non-state actors in order to reach a solution. Armed conflicts or those that carry a risk of turning into an armed conflict is the priority of crisis diplomacy. In such cases the aim is to prevent the conflict or stop it and start a peace process, by finding a solution that would be accepted by all parties of the conflict. But most of the time there is an intervention of the outside forces. Such interventions are usually based on humanitarian concerns that aim to protect the civilians harmed by the conflict. But this sort of interventions raise questions about state sovereignty, as it is considered intervening in the internal affairs of a state. Although by definition crisis diplomacy aims resolving certain crises, for some actors it is a matter of getting the most out of a crises by managing it in favour of their own interests. But the opposite also applies and some conflicts are deemed out of interest zone and does not become the subject of international crisis diplomacy, or at least until it is too late. For this reason new efforts of conflict resolution have been developed, sometimes supporting and the other times replacing crisis diplomacy, such as track-two and multitrack diplomacies.

Track Two Diplomacy and Multi-track Diplomacy

Track two diplomacy refers to the unofficial diplomatic activity, presupposing that official diplomacy is the Track I. Since it differs from official diplomacy its actors are also not state officials. NGOs, local leaders, conflict resolution practitioners, universities, academics, students can all be actors of track two diplomacy. These groups or people could establish networks that can influence the views in their countries. Track two diplomacy came to be discussed and defined in 1980s. The first use of it came from Joseph

Montville, who defined track two diplomacy as the unofficial, informal interaction between members of adversarial groups or nations with the goals of developing strategies, influencing public opinion, and organising human and material resources in ways that might help resolve the conflict.

Montville's definition points to the conflict resolution aspect of track-two diplomacy which is the most common way of its practice. It stems from the understanding that there are issues that cannot be solved with traditional diplomacy. As a matter of fact this is how track two diplomacy appeared even before it was called by this name, when a former Australian diplomat John Burton decided to apply his theory about the role of communication and dialog in conflict resolution, to the boundary dispute between Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia. He brought together influential people from these countries, who had close ties with their governments but were not official government representatives to discuss the causes of the conflict and suggest potential solutions and share those with their governments, who incorporated those into the agreements they signed to end the conflict. (Jones, 2015, 14) Although Burton called his method "controlled communication" and not track two diplomacy, this process was exactly what it would be called in the coming years. The aim of track two negotiations is to bring together people from different sides of a conflict in an attempt to bridge their difference. Brining people from different countries together is not only a conflict resolution activity but also may aim building bonds among countries. Track two diplomacy is used also to improve regional security in general without addressing a specific conflict. In any case the people who are involved in the track two diplomacy are expected to be able to reach state official and acknowledge them about the outcome of their activity and influence the state's stance on certain issues.

As positive outcomes have been reached, it became a method that is widely applied. Especially new technological developments in communications and transport played a positive role in track two diplomacy since it provided new and easy ways to bring people together. People not only come together in a number of track two activities but also have the opportunity to communicate and be familiar with other people.

This portrays how a country is viewed by the citizens of another country as well as showing them the misunderstandings, prejudices, misleading and misinformations they may have. Overcoming all this negative dynamics is an important step in solving conflicts. Therefore an important function of track two diplomacy is to change the perceptions of, and about the other. Along with the opportunities it offers track two diplomacy has also some advantages over official track one diplomacy. First of all since the participants of track two diplomacy are not government officials they are not limited with state policies. Neither are they manipulated by them. This provides more room for discussions and negotiation and eventually mutual understanding. Since these meetings are not public most of the time, they are also free of the pressures, criticism and oppositions. Their resolutions - if they reach any-are not binding. This also is a freedom area for track two, but in applicable terms if any influence on the governments is intended.

Despite all the efforts to develop it and its advantages people-to-people initiatives fail in many cases and political or even military conflict override. The main reason for the failure is that the final words are said by the governments. No matter how much people's influence increase, states still may choose to ignore it and have the power to do so. The failure of track two may also be due to the incompatibility of the people that carry out the process. They may not be well equipped or well intended, may have not understood the essence and significance of the issue, or may not communicate with the other parties in the way that nature of track two requires. The legitimacy of these people is also brought into question by those who do not believe in the efficiency of track two diplomacy or are against the resolution of the conflict at all. To overcome this shortcomings another type of classification is suggested under the name of **multi-track diplomacy**.

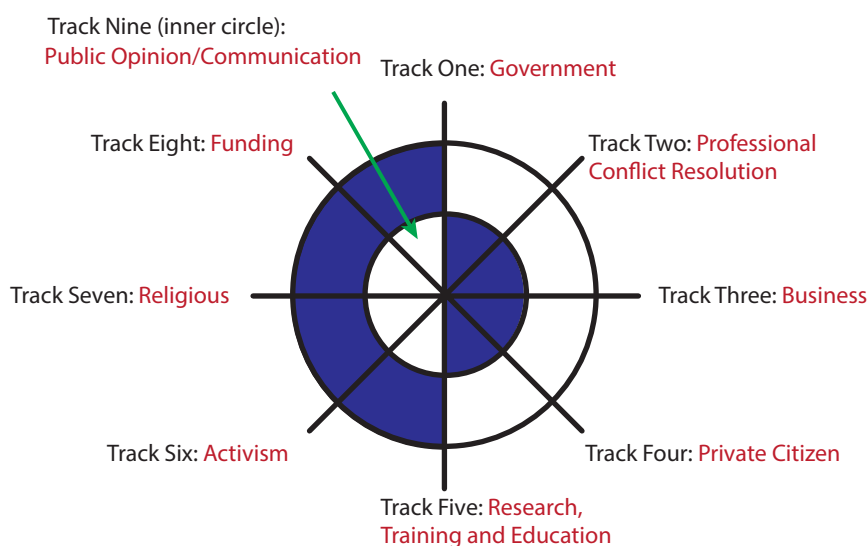


Figure 1.13 Nine Tracks of Multi-Track Diplomacy

Multi-track diplomacy claims that placing all aspects of unofficial diplomacy under track-two makes it difficult to seize whole scope and context of the field. For this reason, multi-track diplomacy offers a multilayer differentiation with nine tracks instead of two. It also foresees a cooperation with official diplomacy. Therefore, the first track in multitrack diplomacy is the government and its official representatives as the actors of traditional diplomacy. Track two would be the professional, experienced nonofficial attempts of conflict resolution through nongovernmental actors. Track three is defined as business and consequently is carried out by businessmen. This track is based on the assumptions that besides providing financial sources for conflict resolution and peace making efforts, these actors can also build mutual trust and friendship through economic and commercial channels. It is expected that economic ties and interests would forge the parties solve conflicts that could harm these ties and interests. Track four of multi-track diplomacy is carried out by private citizens. Often referred as citizen diplomacy, this track resembles the track-two

diplomacy and makes it a sub-field of multi-track diplomacy. It brings together people from different sectors of society, in workshops, exchange programs and joint projects in order to break prejudices and develop mutual understanding. Track five includes research, training, and education. Educational institutions from kindergarten to universities, research centres, tanks tanks can be actors of this diplomatic engagement. What is aimed with the mentioned activities is to get to the bottom of the conflict and formulate solutions through researches and study programs, train people who could carry out negotiation and mediation in resolving the conflict and raise awareness through educational institutions for a sustainable peace. Track six of multi-track diplomacy is activism and aims to raise awareness among the public and influence them through protests and gatherings about issues like peace, human rights, environment, social and economic justice. Track seven is religion and is based on directing the influence of religious beliefs, communities and institutions to conflict resolution by highlighting themes like shared values. Track eight is about the funding of all these multitrack diplomacy activities. The actors of this track, or the funders can be individuals, like philanthropists, or groups like communities, foundations and corporations. The last track, track nine is the communication and media. What is aimed with this track is to provide information that would influence the public opinion and bring people together despite the distances.

Economic Diplomacy

Economy has always been a major component of international relations and thus has influenced diplomacy. But since the last decades of the twentieth century, along with the appearance of global economy it has become a major activity of the diplomatic system, shadowing even politics in some cases. This has led to the emergence of economic diplomacy. An initial definition of economic diplomacy is the implementation of foreign policy by using economic means to achieve political goals or that it is a strategy to promote foreign policy objectives. More specifically, it can be the use of diplomatic means to promote and achieve economic objectives, which may even be implicit in the overall planning of the foreign policy of a state. It increases the negotiating power of a country, with its tool of economic power, which is one

of the most important grounds on which an effective foreign policy is now based. The term also includes negotiations and decision-making in international economic relations. Globalisation has increased the importance of these relations as it is no longer possible for states to isolate or protect themselves from the impact of international economic activities. The stability of the global economy has become a concern of domestic politics and even national security.

Economic diplomacy takes various forms, such as the formation of an export policy, the attraction of foreign investment, multilateral or bilateral level of internal market protection measures and the development of aid programs. It negotiates a broad area of fields such as production, trade in goods and services, financing, global natural environment, information, data, regulatory frameworks. This multidimensional content reflects the important role that economic diplomacy can play in the international scene between

The Group of Seven (G7) and The Group of Twenty (G20)

The Group of Seven (G7), formerly G8 is a club of industrialised democratic states (France, Germany, Japan, the USA, the UK, Italy and Canada) that meets annually to discuss important economic, financial, and political issues. It provides a forum for world leaders to collaborate on collective problems, to manage the world economy, and to address issues arising from interdependence and globalisation. The G7 works closely with other organisations, in particular the IMF and the OECD.

The Group of 20 (G20) is made up of the G7 industrialised democratic countries, the five emerging BRICS countries, (Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa) seven other economically emerging countries (Argentina, Australia, Indonesia, Mexico, Saudi Arabia, South Korea, Turkey,) and the European Union, which together as the G20 represent the twenty largest global economies, generating approximately 85 per cent of global GDP. Although G20 began as a forum to discuss global economic stability, its agenda expanded to include the discussion of other topics, such as global security, global health, development, gender, climate change, migration, and the refugee crises. (Brown et.al.,2018,

states and international actors. State institutions, international economic organisations like IMF, World Bank and World Trade Organisation are still the major actors of economic diplomacy but private companies, especially multinational ones, and individuals are also powerful actors, influencing state behaviour. In most cases these actors are also the direct beneficiaries of the international economic diplomacy negotiations. The influence of these actors in both domestic and international economics have increased considerably. This has led to definition of another type of diplomacy called **business diplomacy** as part of the domination of markets and international firms. Also within the state institutions it is not the ministry of foreign affairs that drive economic diplomacy, but ministry of economics or finance or other related institutions take the lead. Head of states and governments are also determinant in economic diplomacy. On many occasions state and non-state economic actors accompany the state leaders in the bilateral or multilateral summits that they are participating, in order to make economic cooperation agreements.

Public Diplomacy

Public diplomacy defines the diplomatic communication between traditional actors of diplomacy and the public. By public it is meant foreign publics and the international community as a whole but in certain cases domestic public also becomes the audience of public diplomacy. Some writers do not agree that public diplomacy is also directed to domestic public since diplomacy is not practiced domestically. But it eventually turns into a process that domestic public is involved. Public diplomacy is basically about the image of a state. States care about their images in order to improve their political, economical, strategic positions and relations. For this reason the main aim of public diplomacy is creating a positive image for influencing the public and winning its support. But in time it has also become a tool that the public can also influence states in terms of agenda setting and even decision making. Therefore, it is possible to say that public diplomacy is an importance mean of involving the public in foreign diplomatic relations.

Informing and influencing the public has always been on the agenda of the states. But it took the

shape of public diplomacy in the first half of the twentieth century. It was the World Wars that paved the way for the development of public diplomacy. While states kept their populations informed about the war, they also wanted to prove their rightfulness and mobilise the public. The interwar period was the peak of such activities. States such as Germany and the Soviet Union used propaganda activities for the same ends. United States and United Kingdom answered by institutionalising public diplomacy efforts respectively through Committee on Public Information and British Propaganda Office.

Second half of the century witnessed acceleration of public diplomacy efforts. During the bipolar international system of the Cold War public diplomacy was frequently applied by both blocks, especially by the bloc leader super powers. Now more than ever public diplomacy was targeting the populations of foreign countries, especially those living in the opposite block. The aim was to influence foreign publics, convince them about their political, social and economic superiority and cut their support for their own states. In 1965 Edmund A. Gullion gave a definition of public diplomacy, which led to the association of the term with his name. According to his definition “public diplomacy deals with the influence of public attitudes on the formation and execution of foreign policies. It encompasses dimensions of international relations beyond traditional diplomacy; the cultivation by governments of public opinion in other countries; the interaction of private groups and interests in one country with those of another; the reporting of foreign affairs and its impact on policy; communication between those whose job is communication, as between diplomats and foreign correspondents; and the processes of inter-cultural communications.”

Another conceptual contribution to public diplomacy was made by Joseph Nye, who brought the term soft power into international relations literature as “the ability to get what you want through attraction rather than coercion or payments” and mentioned that “it arises from the attractiveness of a country’s culture, political ideals, and policies. When our policies are seen as legitimate in the eyes of others, our soft power is enhanced.” (Nye, 2004, x) For what Nye described as soft power, public diplomacy seemed to be the essential tool. The emphasis on cultural aspect has

also led to the emergence of **cultural diplomacy** in relation with public diplomacy. Cultural diplomacy can be defined in two ways. The first definition refers to the cultural activities of states in other countries as means of promoting its culture and gaining influence. Cultural attaches as part of the embassies are the state instruments of promoting cultural diplomacy. But nonofficial institutions like cultural centres and language schools are also used in these terms. The other aspect of cultural diplomacy sees culture as the essence of a people and therefore as a key element for building mutual understanding between different publics. This kind of understanding would especially be crucial in case conflicts.

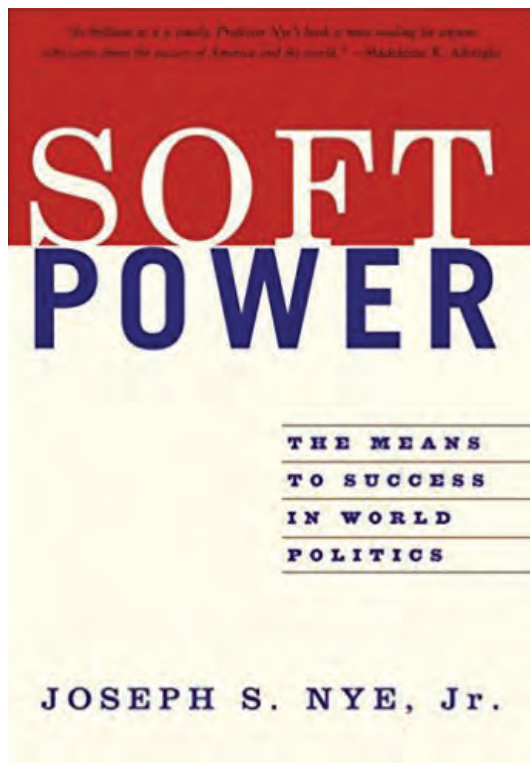


Figure 1.14 Cover of Soft Power

Since Nye came up with the term in 1980s soft power came to be considered as important or even more important than hard power. This period was also the time of globalisation, which enriched public diplomacy with new methods and actors as it was also gaining importance. The technological base of globalisation, especially in terms of communication, played the major role in this process. Along with media which has been a traditional instrument of public diplomacy cultural

and linguistic centres, higher education institutes, sports events, tourism, movies, tv series have all been instrumental in public diplomacy. One of the most significant change in the practice of public diplomacy was the variation of actors. Participation of these actors have lead tot the emergence of new types of diplomacy such as celebrity diplomacy and sports diplomacy. **Celebrity diplomacy** is the inclusion of celebrities as advocates to publicise certain causes like peace, human rights, environment and raise awareness about these issues. **Sports diplomacy** on the other hand, is about using major sports events, institutions or individual sportsman to support country image, as well as a means of drawing attention to local or global issues. Even ordinary individuals can play significant roles by using communication technologies in informing both the domestic and international public. Another important development in connection with this was the democratisation of diplomacy. As soft power becomes crucial and people become not only the subject but also the object of public diplomacy they began to have more influence. Public capacity to influence the state changes from country to country. But there is also the opportunity to influence the international community through international networks and cooperation of public opinions. This also brings a more holistic/integrative approach to domestic and foreign public involvement, in which public diplomacy's international and domestic dimensions can be seen as "stepping stones on a continuum of public participation that is central to international policymaking and conduct." (Huijgh, 2016, 443) All these developments have extended the content the of public diplomacy so much that it may sometimes be confused with diplomacy itself. Indeed some writers believe that all diplomacy is actually public diplomacy. Although there is a righteous point in this claim as states care more and more about their soft power, it has not become the sole source of their power. Especially for those who have a considerable hard power.

Digital Diplomacy

Digital diplomacy is one of the newest modes of diplomacy. It is about the technological developments that have transforming effects on diplomacy. It has been challenging for

traditional diplomacy in terms of its instruments and institutions but it also has provided new ones. Information and communication are not a monopoly of states anymore, they are not even controllable by them. Therefore, states responded by obtaining the same instruments in their international relations and this led to the emergence of digital diplomacy as a new field. Digital diplomacy has developed in several stages defined by vision, rapid technological innovations and organisational adoptions by foreign ministries. (Gilboa, 2016, 541) The extent to which this has affected diplomacy is a discussion point. For some it is just a new instrument for the conduct of foreign policy while others believe that it has become the diplomacy itself. In any case it cannot be denied that diplomacy uses the digital means by integrating them to its methods. It provides diplomatic agents new tools to obtain information as well as serving as a tool that they can disseminate this information. It provides new tools for diplomats to make foreign policy and diplomacy more comprehensive, coherent and appealing. Foreign ministries, ambassadors and other diplomats now all have social media accounts through which they not only inform but also receive comments from the public. This accounts are usually bilingual - English being the second language - which shows that the target group is not only their citizens but the international community.

Twiplomacy

the use of Twitter and other social media sites by government agencies and officials to engage with the public, disperse information and even leverage global influence.

With the technological revolution informal channels have also appeared for people to communicate and inform each other and come together on the international level. The widespread usage of smartphones has furthered the impact of these new technologies, making everything instant. This has changed the nature of relations between the state and the citizen. With the more information they access and the opportunity to share it and come together the citizens have become more powerful. This helps them influence their states

as well as other states and even the international politics. In this sense digital diplomacy is closely related to public diplomacy. Policy-makers employ digital diplomacy, especially social media, for several functions: to investigate what the public thinks about foreign policy choices; to educate the public about foreign policy and international relations; to explain challenges and alternative means to address them; and to cultivate public support for policies they have selected. (Gilboa, 2016, 546) This way while citizens become actors in diplomacy they also become the audience of it through digital diplomacy.



Figure 1.15



your turn ³

“What would be the historical events that contribute to the development of conference diplomacy in your opinion?”

LO 1

"Define diplomacy and recognise its scope, actors and functions"

Diplomacy does not have an agreed definition since it is not an easy term to define. This is due to the changing nature of diplomacy. That is why defining diplomacy is actually about recognising its actors, scope and functions. It is initially defined in terms of relations among sovereign states, covering basically political relations, along with economic and cultural relations to a certain degree. Within this context the traditional actors of diplomacy are the agents of ministries of foreign policy and diplomatic missions in foreign countries. Its functions consequently were defined as representation, protection of the interests and citizens of its state, negotiation, monitoring and reporting and development of economic, cultural and scientific relations. That is why diplomacy has been used interchangeably with foreign policy in many occasions. Although it is true that the two are closely related they are not the same thing. Diplomacy is an instrument of foreign policy but on the other hand has a wider scope than foreign policy. In a globalised world, many issues are no longer in the capacity of single states to solve, in some cases not even the domestic ones. Therefore communication, negotiation, cooperation and even intervention of certain states, groups, organisations or individuals have become essential in the handling of these issues, including them in the scope of diplomacy. With a rapidly expanding scope it came to include all sorts of international relations between different kind of international actors. For this reason while earlier definitions usually focus on political relations, later definitions mention about other actors and management of international relations. Therefore, finally it is possible to define diplomacy as the instrument that makes the conduct of international relations possible.

LO 2

“Review the theoretical framework of international diplomacy”

The theoretical framework of diplomacy is drawn by the theories of diplomacy. Following the emergence of permanent diplomacy theories about this field was also formulated, mostly by those who were also involved in the practice of diplomacy. Therefore these theories are mainly based on the practice of diplomacy, derived from experience and put together in a way to give advices. Study of these theories help to see the continuations, changes and transformations in diplomacy. Many them being written during historical breaking points, reveal the context to link the evolution of diplomacy to the historical events, where theory and practice come together.

The first of these theories can be derived from the works of Machiavelli. Although he attributes significance to diplomatic representation, for him diplomacy is secondary compared to military power. Thus diplomacy is actually a tool that meets the deficit of military power and can use every means, including deception, for this end. In his diplomatic theory Machiavelli defines the duties of diplomats, which have stayed almost the same in the centuries that past. He also makes a connection between state systems and diplomacy, which will again be discussion on the twentieth century.

Another Italian diplomat who can be studied in the context of diplomatic theories is Francesco Guicciardini, who puts the duties and qualifications if the ambassador in the centre. According to Guicciardini, not only represents his state but also the prestige of his prince. He also gives advises about the way that negotiations shout be carried.

The main concern of Hugo Grotius in his theory of diplomacy is to avoid war, by using diplomatic methods, such as conference, negotiations, arbitration and compromise. A second issue he puts emphasis on is diplomatic representation and the immunities and privileges of diplomats must have in order to carry out their duties. Diplomatic immunities have become the essentials of modern diplomacy, without which diplomacy cannot function.

Cardinal Richelieu's advices to the French king Loius XIII, can be read as another source of diplomatic theory. Like Grotius, Richelieu's concern was also to establish peace and he saw diplomacy as the means to achieve that. For him diplomacy had to be permanent, in order to be effective and efficient, as it is in modern diplomacy today.

When we come to the twentieth century, theories of diplomacy can also be appraised within the context international relations theory. The first name to be mentioned in this sense would be Ernest Satow, who give a detailed account of diplomacy in his guiding book. His book covers the history of diplomacy, functions of diplomatic institutions and the roles of diplomatic actors.

Another diplomat/writer following the tradition of Satow is Harold Nicolson. Nicolson as well has a historical approach to diplomacy. He first of all studies the development of diplomatic theory in order to put forward the principles that shapes diplomacy. He makes a differentiation between old and diplomacy based on the change in the political systems of states following the First World War. This way he underlines the relation between domestic politics and diplomacy, which were to be more intertwined as the century proceed.

Morgenthau, who is accepted as the founder of international relations discipline, defines diplomacy as the most important factor which makes the power of a nation as it brings the different elements of national power together. Describing the aim of diplomacy as he promotion of national interest by peace, he believes that diplomacy has been on the decline since the First World War. He therefore, along with offering remedies to stop stop this decline and revive diplomacy, he also defines the tasks of diplomacy and what makes a qualified diplomacy.

The last diplomatic theory belongs to Henry Kissinger, who also has a historical approach to diplomacy, framed with theory. He also describes diplomacy in terms of peaceful relations between states. What he expects from a successful diplomacy is peace, order and stability. But like other realist writers he does not exclude military power from international relations.

LO 3

"Analyse and compare the diplomatic relations of different actors"

Summary

Even if approached from the narrow definition of diplomacy which relates it to the states and their foreign policies, there would still be different kinds of actors in question. Since not all the states have the same qualifications, it is possible to make categorisation among states, which consequently necessitates a categorisation about their diplomacies. The broadest categorisation would be to divide states into three groups according to the elements of power they hold; great powers, middle powers and small powers. Great powers are the states who can influence the international system due to the sources of power they have such as territory, strategic position and geographical extent, population, resources, military strength, political stability and strong economy. Since the Congress of Vienna Great Powers are considered to be dominating the international system, sometimes through alliances and sometimes through rivalry. They are also considered as the protectors of peace and stability in international relations. Using their influence and sources through economic sanctions or military intervention they are expected to stop or avoid conflicts around the world.

Middle powers are those that do not have the influence or the sources that great powers have but are more influential and powerful than the small states. The power components of middle powers are usually soft power elements, such as political stability, functioning bureaucracy, wealthy economy. Their diplomatic initiatives are also shaped by these elements and based on their exportation as means of gaining influence in world politics. But because they lack the capacity in most cases they choose to act in cooperation with other like-minded states.

Following the two world wars the number of small states and diplomatic role have rapidly increased.

Small states are defined by the lack of sources that makes a state a great or a small power. In order to make up for their vulnerability that stems from the lack of power, these states need apply to diplomacy more than the other states. They use diplomacy as a platform that bring them together and gain influence in this way.

Hence the relations among these actors can also take different shapes depending on which actors are involved and their numbers. Diplomatic relation of two states is defined by bilateral diplomacy. If more than two states are involved then this is called multilateral diplomacy. This is the kind of diplomatic relation that middle powers and small states prefer. Great powers on the other hand apply to both ways, and even use bilateral diplomacy, depending solely on their own capacities. There is another kind of diplomatic relation that takes place between state and non-state actor and defined by the term polylateral. Polylateral diplomacy becomes more common as the number of non-states actors involved in international diplomacy increase each and everyday.

LO 4

"Differentiate and describe different types of diplomatic engagement"

The world of diplomacy no longer functions through only embassies and diplomats. New types of diplomatic engagement carried out by new actors have appeared in international politics due to the new needs that old diplomacy cannot cover. It is sometimes non-official individuals - celebrities, academics, sportsmen or ordinary citizens - or institutions - international organisations, private corporations, NGOs - taking part in diplomatic missions involving environmental, humanitarian or peace building issues, and sometimes it is diplomats leaving the embassies and working in the field for the same ends. Therefore, the scope of diplomacy has expanded significantly. This enables us to point out and define different types of diplomatic engagement. These can also be considered as different diplomatic methods. Some of these methods have been used since the early practices of diplomacy while others belong only to the twenty-first century. As the international system transforms so does diplomacy due to the need for new methods to be applied to new situations. There are various types of diplomacy that have appeared like that. In many cases different methods are used together. Therefore, it is not easy to separate the types of diplomacy precisely. Still some major types can be spotted.

The first one would be to differentiate between open and secret diplomacy. Secret diplomacy refers to the secret meetings and negotiations that take place without the knowledge of people, while open diplomacy suggests that diplomatic negotiations should be with the knowledge of the public. The discussion about the benefits and drawbacks of both diplomacies has been on the agenda of diplomacy for a very long time while in practice both types are still implemented.

Another type of diplomacy is the conference diplomacy, which is the main instrument for multilateral diplomacy but also serves as a base for bilateral diplomatic meetings. Although power politics play a role in conference diplomacy as well, it provides an important opportunity for the participation of different states in international decision making. It is also an opportunity for small states to come together and build a power block that can influence these decisions.

One of the oldest and most controversial types of diplomacy is coercive diplomacy. Although many approaches do not include coercion within the context of diplomacy or deem it as the failure of diplomacy, it is true that this method has been used by states as long as the history of diplomacy. Although there is not a consensus about coercion it is regarded more acceptable when it is used for humanitarian purposes like preventing or stopping a conflict. This is related to another type of diplomacy called crises diplomacy. Crisis diplomacy deals with the management and solution of crises. In a globalised world no crisis is local anymore and becomes a concern of the international community. Although in contemporary world crises vary from humanitarian to economic, health to environmental, armed conflicts constitute the priority of crisis diplomacy, which usually leads to the intervention of a state or a coalition of states and international organisations. The legal framework for these kind of interventions has been offered by United Nations through several formulations such as humanitarian intervention or the responsibility to protect. Still the attempts to solve conflicts and crises have inspired the formulation of new types of diplomacy such as the track-two and multitrack diplomacies. Track-two diplomacy refers to the unofficial means of finding a solution to conflicts while multitrack diplomacy draws a more detailed framework that foresees a cooperation also with official diplomacy for a more efficient conflict resolution.

Another type of diplomacy is economic diplomacy. Although economy has always played a determining role in international relations, its impact has increased exponentially with globalisation. Now more than ever national economies are tied to each other in an interdependent relation, so are economic and politics. Hence economic diplomacy includes both negotiations and decision-making in international economic relations and the implementation of foreign policy by using economic means to achieve political goals. The expanding role of economics has also brought new actors to the world of diplomacy such as private corporations or even individuals as the beneficiaries of economic diplomacy and opened the door for an other related type of diplomacy that is defined as business diplomacy.

The type of diplomacy where individuals play a more decisive role is public diplomacy. Public diplomacy is basically about a state's domestic and international image and thus targets both domestic and foreign publics. The aim is to influence these publics and gain their support for state policies. Although this is not a new practice, the technological developments, especially those in information and communication technologies has widened the scope of public diplomacy dramatically. Likewise the same technological developments have also introduced the emergence of digital diplomacy, which means the use of digital platforms by diplomatic agents.

1 Diplomacy manages _____.

- a. Foreign policy
- b. Economic issues
- c. Humanitarian issues
- d. Environmental issues
- e. All

2 Which of the following is **not** among the functions of diplomacy?

- a. Representation
- b. Negotiations
- c. Monitoring
- d. Secret intelligence
- e. Contribution to international order

3 The book *Guide to Diplomatic Practice* belongs to _____.

- a. Cardinal Richelieu
- b. Hugo Grotius
- c. Harold Nicolson
- d. Henry Kissinger
- e. Ernest Satow

4 According to Machiavelli which is **not** among the duties of a diplomatist?

- a. carry out peaceful relations with other states.
- b. to submit advice on policy to his own prince
- c. involve sabotaging the activities of diplomatic rivals
- d. to engage in formal negotiations,
- e. to obtain information and report it home

5 Which of the following writers have mentioned the role of state system in diplomacy in their theories?

- a. Machiavelli and Satow
- b. Morgenthau and Richelieu
- c. Grotius and Kissinger
- d. Machiavelli and Nicolson
- e. Guicciardini and Satow

6 Which of the following is **not** one of the tasks of diplomacy according to Hans Morgenthau?

- a. determining objectives
- b. assessing the objectives of other nations
- c. impose its objectives to other nations
- d. determining to what extent its objectives are compatible with the objectives of other nations
- e. employing the means suited to the pursuit of its objectives.

7 Which of the following is an example of small state diplomacy?

- a. Congress of Vienna
- b. Holy Alliance
- c. Non- alignment
- d. Paris Peace Conference
- e. Treaty of Westphalia

8 What is Polyilateralism?

- a. Relations between two states
- b. Relations between more than two states
- c. Relations between intergovernmental organisations
- d. Relations between state-entities and non-state entities
- e. Relations between non-state entities

9 Which of the following types of diplomacy is about state image?

- a. Track two diplomacy
- b. Multitrack diplomacy
- c. Public diplomacy
- d. Digital diplomacy
- e. Open diplomacy

10 Which of the following includes the tracks of multi-track diplomacy?

- a. Unilateral, bilateral, multilateral, polyilateral
- b. Cultural, public, celebrity, sports
- c. Government. non-government professional, business, private citizen, research-training-education, activism, religion. funding.
- d. Coercive, defence, military, gunboat
- e. Economic, business, corporate, commercial, financial

1. e

If your answer is incorrect, review the section on "What is Diplomacy?"

6. c

If your answer is incorrect, review the section on "What is Diplomacy?"

2. d

If your answer is incorrect, review the section on "What is Diplomacy?"

7. c

If your answer is incorrect, review the section on "Diplomatic Relations"

3. e

If your answer is incorrect, review the section on "What is Diplomacy?"

8. d

If your answer is incorrect, review the section on "Diplomatic Relations"

4. a

If your answer is incorrect, review the section on "What is Diplomacy?"

9. c

If your answer is incorrect, review the section on "Types of Diplomacy"

5. d

If your answer is incorrect, review the section on "What is Diplomacy?"

10. c

If your answer is incorrect, review the section on "Types of Diplomacy"

"According to an approach the recent developments in technology and the involvement of new issues and actors have actually brought the end of diplomacy. Do you agree?"

your turn 1

Since the time it has been institutionalised, the content of diplomacy has been evolving. This had led to many debates about old and new diplomacy. The final point that this debate has arrived in the twenty-first century is that the end of diplomacy has come. According to this claim states have ceased to be the major actor of international relations with the involvement of non-state actors such as non-governmental organisations, private corporations and individuals. Besides due to the enlargement of its scope to include humanitarian, environmental, social and other issues diplomacy has lost its focus and disrupted. But the most deteriorating impact was made by the new technologies. States no longer can control information as they used to do. Even the most confidential diplomatic meeting and negotiations can be revealed and spread the world in matter of minutes. All these factors can be evaluated as the end of diplomacy. But on the other hand another point of view is also possible. First of all although states do no longer have monopoly over diplomatic relations and have lost power vis-a-vis other actors, they still are the most powerful and influential actors. But more importantly there is an essence of diplomacy which has never changed, that is diplomacy has always provided the means of communication in international relations, may it be between states or between individuals. That is why it has been defined as the master institution of international relations and for as long as there will be international relations, there will also be diplomacy. Therefore instead evaluating the new developments as the end of diplomacy, it is better to see them as the expansion and enrichment of diplomacy.

"Do you agree that multilateral diplomacy is a useful ground for small state diplomacy?"

your turn 2

A small state is defined in terms of power deficit, both hard and soft. Besides they also lack the sources to close this deficit. Therefore, they need other tools that would provide them with some power and influence in international relations, at least in matters that are their priority concern. Since they cannot do this on their own, they need other states to act together for the same ends. Multilateral diplomacy becomes instrumental at this point and serves as a platform that these states can come together, interact, cooperate, make coalitions and act together. This way they gain influence that they each lack individually. The most obvious display of this phenomenon is the voting in the United Nations, where some states vote in the same direction and have the majority of the votes to reach a resolution. Multilateral platforms also help small state diplomacy in cases where they do not have diplomatic missions in certain countries and have to chance to meet with the representatives of such states. In these senses it is true that multilateral diplomacy is a useful ground for small states. But there is another aspect of multilateral diplomacy. As globalisation continues to bind them together it becomes inevitable for states to come together and reach joint decisions about the ever-growing number of issues that concern them all. Therefore, multilateral diplomacy is not only a type of diplomatic engagement that is preferred by the small states but is an instrument imposed by the international conjuncture. Critical issues that are considered in terms of national interest by great powers become the scene of their dominations and leave little room for small state diplomacy. And by all means there is always a possibility that a state - most probably one that can afford it - may not follow the outcomes of a multilateral diplomatic initiative.

“What would be the historical events that contribute to the development of conference diplomacy in your opinion?”

your turn 3

The first example of conference diplomacy is the Treaty of Westphalia in 1648. Congress of Vienna in 1815 constitutes another important event for the development of conference diplomacy. In spite the high number of participants, negotiations were dominated four victors of the Napoleonic Wars; Austria, Russia, Prussia and Great Britain, as was the international system after the Congress. France, although it was the losing party, was included in the negotiations at certain points but other than it, no other state was included in the decision making even if the decisions concerned them. Although the Congress of Vienna was dismantled the same year, a series of conferences followed in the next eight years. Almost a hundred years later in 1919 Paris Peace Conference assembled, again with the dominance of the triumph states, this time Great Britain, France, United States and to a certain extent Italy. But two major states of the international system, Germany and the Soviet Union were excluded from the peace process, which later on proved the importance of inclusion in diplomatic negotiations for the international relations. League of Nations, which was established to institutionalise the peace failed for the very same reason. Most states did not prefer to carry out diplomatic negotiations within the League, not even in the cases where multiple actors were involved and it was mostly excluded from international diplomacy. Still in the 25 years it existed, it constituted the first example of conference diplomacy in the context of an international organisation. The lessons learnt from the insufficiencies of the League paved the way to United Nations, which demonstrates conference diplomacy in the sense that is widely accepted.

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Chapter 2

The Historical Evolution of Diplomacy: First Practices

After completing this chapter you will be able to:

Learning Outcomes

1 grasp the birth of the first practices of diplomacy

2 understand the evolution of these practices throughout centuries and different civilizations

Chapter Outline

Ancient Diplomacy
Medieval Diplomacy

Key Terms

Ancient Diplomacy
Medieval Diplomacy
Ancient methods of diplomacy



INTRODUCTION

It is widely accepted, as Hamilton mentions, that the beginnings of diplomacy occurred when a human being decided for the first time that hearing a message is better than eating the messenger (Hamilton, 1995: 7). At this point, with the decision to assure the safety of a messenger, the primitive rules of diplomacy began to emerge. Messengers were sent from one tribe to another mainly to make peace in a rudimentary way, based on custom and even taboo. These earliest types of diplomacy in primitive societies took the shape of exchanging gifts, in a sense, to buy peace.

When literate civilizations emerged, primitive face to face systems transformed into more sophisticated exchange systems between organized urban communities. In other words, the invention of writing and the transition from pre-historic to ancient times signal an upsurge of diplomatic structures as writing was and is still the key technology of diplomacy. In this regard, diplomacy in a more structured sense appeared at the same time and same place where loose forms of tribal organizations gradually developed into the first forms of states. These first state-like polities with government, law, taxation, education systems and literature which were formed in Mesopotamia and the Eastern Mediterranean provide the great tradition of diplomacy in the ancient world (Cohen, 2001). Having appeared sometime during the third millennium BCE in Mesopotamia and Eastern Mediterranean, the essentials of the institution of diplomacy were transmitted from one civilization to others throughout ages, e.g., from Babylon to Persia, and from ancient Greece, to Rome.

Although Greece is accepted as the birthplace of Western civilization, diplomacy was not born in Greece in contrast to what is widely thought. Diplomacy was born thousands of years before ancient Greece committed to diplomacy as a civilization. Nevertheless, the word “diplomacy” is itself borrowed from ancient Greek. It is derived from the word “diploma” meaning two fold. In the Roman Empire, the word was used to describe the passes, comparable to the modern day passport, which were stamped on metal plates. This word was later extended to cover other metallic documents, especially those embodying arrangements with foreign communities (Roberts, 2009)

The features of the first exchange systems of organized polities resemble in many ways the diplomacy as we now understand. They were conducted by envoys in a formal framework of law; and they were based upon the principles of reciprocity. With the emergence of the state system, the methods of diplomacy were transformed from primitive courses into trade agreements, dynastic marriages, and military alliances.

In line with this, the present chapter will analyze the long history of the evolution of diplomacy, beginning from the Mesopotamian civilizations and ending with the beginning of the Middle Ages.

ANCIENT DIPLOMACY

The Beginning of Institutional Diplomatic Practice: Mesopotamian Diplomacy

The first system of city-states occurred in Mesopotamia between the 4th and the first millennium. The system was mainly based on that of the Sumerians in the south, Babylonian and Akadian in the center and Assyrians in the north. Within this system, which shows some general patterns of early international relations, Mesopotamia was characterized by steady interaction basing on both trade and security issues (Bloom, 2014). It looked like a system of balance of power since no single entity enjoyed significant superiority. As in the modern international relations, the more the state system based on balance of power the diplomacy became more important.



Figure 2.1

Source: <http://www.indepthinfo.com/history-ancient/mesopotamia.htm>

Sumerians were the earliest practitioners of diplomacy (3000-2370 BCE). The diplomatic tradition emerged from this site mainly because the Sumerians were the civilization which invented writing sometime in the 4th millennium BCE. In the meantime, Sumeria was the site of the first urban communities consisted of complex social, economic and political structures each of which was ruled by an independent King.

Diplomacy was used by Sumerians with a motivation to end conflicts through the conventional method of sending messengers with the messages written on clay tablets in cuneiform. Sumerian was used as the *lingua franca* of diplomacy until the Akkadian hegemony was established in the region.

The first known diplomatic letter was a message sent by the King of Ebla (in northern Syria) to the kingdom of Hamazi (north of Iran today), which shows a similar style of language and content of modern diplomacy. This letter provides a clear evidence of the existence of a well performing mechanism, in which both sides knew the rules. The letter was not written by the king himself, but through the voice of an official, and was not directed to the Hamazi King but to his envoy (Podany, 2010: 27). Since the Ebla region had priority in trade, diplomacy was mainly a part of their trade relations, the reflection of which could also be seen in the Ebla letter.

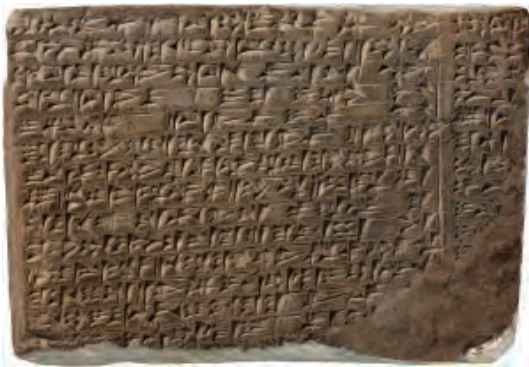


Figure 2.2

“You are my brother and I am your brother. As a brother I will grant you whatever you desire, and you will grant me whatever I desire. Give me good work-animals. Please send them. Ten beams of

boxwood, two sledges of boxwood, I Ibubu, have given the messenger, for you.” (Podany, 2010: 27).

The concept of brotherhood included in this letter served as the central argument on which all superseding diplomatic relationship would be centered. The expression of brotherhood is at the same time a sign that indicate the equal relationship between the kings. Several characteristic elements appear in all similar documents at this period, such as the concept of brotherhood, sending and accepting messengers, exchanging gifts, dynastic marriages, and mutual assistance in case of conflict (Lafont, 2001: 40).

After the conquest of Sumer by the Akkadian, the Akkadian language supplanted Sumerian as the language of diplomacy in conformity with the political situation. The Akkadian King Sargon is accepted as the founder of the military tradition in Mesopotamia. Diplomacy and in history as well more related to trade issues than security issues in the Akkadian period. In terms of diplomacy, representatives were sent only to conquered areas in order to retain their control in these areas.

Babylon, established around 1894 BCE, was another polity which had used diplomacy intensively and effectively in the ancient Near East. Diplomacy as a means of foreign relations was intensified particularly under the rule of Babylon's sixth and most known King Hammurabi. Hammurabi, best known in the modern day for his law code, made skillful use of diplomacy to increase his power. Hammurabi led the establishment of careful alliances which were broken when necessary; and through political maneuvers, he held the entire region under Babylonian control. In the period of Hammurabi's kingdom, diplomacy, particularly in the shape of forming alliances, began to be used much more intensively also by other rulers in order to reach their objectives. However, the reign of Hammurabi was in many ways the end of the Mesopotamian political prominence; and the new era was dominated by the Egyptian civilization.

One of the earliest and most informative resources regarding our knowledge on Near East diplomacy is the Mari cuneiform archives, which consist of more than 20 thousand letters, legal documents, diplomatic correspondences, and treaties written on clay tablets. The majority of the



Figure 2.3 The state archives in Mari, built around 1900 BCE



Figure 2.4 A cuneiform tablet from the archives of Mari was discovered in 1933, until which the earliest known diplomatic archives were the Amarna letter and Hittite treaties covering the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries.

Some examples of diplomatic conduct in the ancient near east:

- touching the throat meant the agreement was accepted
- seizing the hem of the garment meant an alliance was concluded
- letting the hem of the garment meant the breach of an alliance or a treaty.

Documents found in the Mari archives contain evidence of arbitration and mediation, diplomatic codes of conduct, the exchange of envoys and the description of their missions. We learn from these documents that diplomatic relations were initiated

by sending a messenger and gifts. Envoys were appointed for specific missions with a specific set of instructions; and the type of the diplomatic envoys varied according to the circumstances. They can be simple messengers who carry royal mail, but they can also be plenipotentiary ministers (Lafont, 2001: 45). Diplomatic envoys were chosen from among senior officials of administration. Their primary function involved coordinating diplomatic efforts (Hamilton, 1995:8). Some of them were regarded explicitly as the king's personal representatives. Diplomatic envoys were protected by their diplomatic status and they were free to journey across boundaries even in times of crisis. In other words, they had a kind of "diplomatic immunity" which was evident in many documents that found in Mari and later in other archives. Even to attest their status, diplomats seemed to have a kind of "diplomatic passport", on which the name of the holder, the description of his delegation and his destination were written (Lafont, 2001: 46).

Another set of documents which are directly concerned with diplomacy includes the Amarna letters, dating back to the second half of the second millennium (15th to 13th centuries BCE). These letters were first found in Egypt (El-Amarna), Syria (Ugarit), Babylonia and Hittite Anatolia first in 1887. The known tablets are currently 382 in number. These letters, written on clay tablets and exchanged between Egyptian pharaohs and their Babylonian, Assyrian and Anatolian counterparts, give valuable information about diplomatic relations of this period. The structure of the inter-state system of this Late Bronze Age period can be defined as a system of a "Great Powers' Club" along with some vassal states dependent on Great Kingdoms. The Great Power Club was composed of five major kingdoms: the kingdom of Hatti, the kingdom of Mittanni, the kingdom of Assyria, the kingdom of Kassite of Babylon and the kingdom of Egypt. The order of the system was a decisive dynamic that pushed the diplomatic activity since Kings, equal in power and status, strengthened their positions and reinforced their political ends by forming coalitions. Therefore, it can be said that the essential underpinning of the system was the diplomatic communication passed between them (Bryce, 2003: 3-4). At the core of this diplomatic

relationship, we find the Amarna letters which contain information about:

- Strategic-military cooperation,
- Treaty negotiations,
- Dynastic marriages,
- Trade regulations
- Strengthening friendly relations
- Negotiating alliances

Most of the letters were received by the Egyptians; only a few of them were written by the Pharaoh. There are two types of correspondence in Amarna Letters: letters between equal Great Powers and letters covering domestic affairs between Egypt and its vassals. The first type of letters cover the relations between Egypt, Hatti, Mitanni, Assyria and Babylonia, which constitute a kind of Great Powers' Club. Members of this "Great Powers' Club" refer to each other as brothers, signifying the equal status among them. This concept of brotherhood provided the base for alliances.

Letters were written in a specific pattern; first, they identify who was writing and to whom the letter was written, then report their wishes to the other. The rest of the letter contained generally a request or the list of the items being sent.

Letters passed between Egypt and its vassals constitute the largest component of the archives. They are different in content, reflecting the unequal relationship between them. The relationship between vassal states and the overlord was not a kind of brotherhood, but rather a father and son relationship (Hamilton, 1995: 9). Vassals had to obey their lords; and therefore, the Egyptian vassals constantly declared and affirmed loyalty to the Pharaoh through their letters (Cohen, 2000: 8).

"Say to the king, my lord, my Sun, my god: Message of Zitriyara, your servant, the dirt under your feet, and the mire you tread on. I fall at the feet of the king, my lord, my Sun, my god, 7 times and 7 times, both on the stomach and on the back. I have heard the message of the king, my lord, my Sun, my god, to his servant. I herewith make the preparations in accordance with the command of the king, my lord, my Sun, my god." El-Amarna Letters EA 213

Say to Naphurreya, the king of Egypt, my brother, my son-in-law, whom I love and whom loves me: Thus Tushratta, Great King, the king of Mitanni, you father-in-law, who loves you, your brother. For me all goes well. For you may all go well. For Tiye, your mother, for your household, may all go well. For Tadu-Heba, my daughter, your wife, for the rest of your wives, for your sons, for your magnates, for your chariots, for your horses, for your troops, for your country, and for whatever else belongs to you, may all go very, very well." El-Amarna Letters EA 27



Sample To the king of the land of Egypt speak! So (says) Ashur-uballit, the king of the land of Ashur: To your house, to your country, to your war chariotry and to your army well-being! I have sent you my envoy to visit you and to see your country. That my forefathers until now have not sent, I have sent you today: one fine chariot, two horses, (and) a jewel from precious stone, a date shaped bead from genuine lapis lazuli as a good-wish present, have directed unto you. My envoy, whom I have sent you (only) to visit (you), do not hold him back! May he visit and leave! Your opinion and the situation of your country may he observe, then may he leave. El-Amarna Letters EA 15

Despite the intense diplomatic relationship between the political entities of the Near East during the Late Bronze Age fixed embassies never existed. This relationship is characterized rather by an itinerant diplomacy as Lafont stated. Envoys were sent for ad hoc purposes; however, some diplomatic missions could be extended to more than twenty years (Lafont, 2001: 50).

It should also be noted that the political order of the whole area during this period was structured on divine principles; hence diplomatic relations were thought to be a part of the divine, in other words relations between gods. Since kings were conceived of the earthly representatives of gods, the ultimate parties involved in diplomatic relations were the gods. Agreements concluded between parties were deemed as oaths of gods (Hamilton, 1995: 10). Therefore, oaths had a profound place in diplomatic conduct; and the highest place was given to the swearing moment during the ceremonies. Another general feature of the Late Bronze Age diplomacy was that diplomatic commitments were not concluded between states but between kings individually. Therefore, when a king died agreements or alliances had to be renewed with the new king (Lafont, 2001: 55).

A few centuries after Amarna diplomacy, another diplomatic system emerged between Hittite and Egypt. Hittite diplomacy was also a well-developed system, embracing all preceding diplomatic tools and rules of conduct. The nuance of the Hittite system was its different formulization which based mainly on treaties. These treaties were concluded either between kings or the Hittite King and his vassals. They were written in a structured pattern and they included the information about the Hittite King, conditions that brought the parties into forming an alliance, reciprocal obligations, a list of witnesses and the rules to be applied in case of disloyalty (Lafont, 2001: 53).

Hittite diplomacy is best known for the first peace treaty signed in 1270 BCE between Egyptian King Ramses II and Hittite King Hattusili III after the battle of Kadesh in Syria. The Kadesh treaty was signed to end the long war between the Hittites and the Egyptians, which lasted for nearly two centuries for the domination over Syrian region.

The battle of Kadesh resulted in heavy casualties since both sides, but neither was able to win the war. The battle between the Egyptians and the Hittites was a rare case in a period of a 'balance of power system' operating between the four great powers; albeit there were some conflicts between them they were mostly smaller in their scale. The treaty was intended to establish 'peace and brotherhood for all time' between the two kings. In fact, after the treaty was signed, Hittites and Egyptians entered into a new relationship with each other in which they shared their knowledge and experience. The Hittites shared with the Egyptians their skills in making metal weapons and the Egyptians shared with the Hittites their well-developed knowledge on agriculture. Dynastic marriages organized between the two kings were also influential in this new collaborative relationship (Bryce, 2006).



In Practice

The Hittite version of the treaty is at the Istanbul Archaeology Museum



To relate what you have learned to life, There are many such museums in Turkey, nearly in every city or region. By witnessing the findings of ancient civilizations, you can easily relate what you have learned in this chapter to life.

As the Egyptian and Hittite Empires weakened, the Assyrian state emerged and reached its zenith during the 8th and 7th centuries BCE. In order to manage their relations with the powers they were surrounded by, the Assyrians were dependent on diplomacy since their early stages. The Assyrian diplomatic correspondence showed that the main focus of their diplomatic relations involved military affairs. Therefore, it can be said that Assyrians had shifted the emphasis away from the general tendency of greeting toward more pragmatic aspects of politics (Feldman, 2006: 132). Assyrians used both war and diplomacy in order to achieve their goals. The most interesting point regarding Assyrian diplomacy involved the intelligence gathering activities. Assyrians made a full use of all kinds of sources and adopted a variety of channels to collect intelligence. They used these channels both overtly through official envoys and covertly through spies (Honggeng, 2004).

In the final analysis, it can be said that the beginning of diplomacy as a system traces back to the traditions of the ancient Near East. Great Tradition of diplomacy which would be transferred from Mesopotamia to the ancient Greece and Rome, and later from Rome to the Byzantine Empire, and then to the West from them, forming the modern and permanent Westphalian system of diplomacy. As Cohen mentions, this great tradition is not just about hand shaking, diplomatic notes or gift exchange, but about the concept of an accepted system (Cohen, 2001: 36). The disappearance of the Near Eastern system began with the newly emerging empires with a universal claim, and later with the Hellenization of the East and the vanishing of the cuneiform culture (Lafont, 2001: 57).

Ancient China

Ancient China is another civilization where we could look for the origins of diplomacy as a system. The first records of Chinese diplomacy date from the 1st millennium BCE. Ancient China can be categorized under two different periods regarding the political structure of the time. The first is the Warring States Era between 656-221 BCE, characterized by the emergence of sovereign states.

It was a period of a balance of a power system, so international relations was based on great power rivalry and ephemeral alliances (Hamilton, 1995: 12). The Great Powers had leagues, missions and an organized system of correspondence between their many warring states. Diplomacy was based on bilateral relations and missions related to fleeting alliances including maneuvers, secrecy and bribery. Chinese states had no permanent friends and enemies; therefore, their strategies were ruthless but still in an equilibrium. It is not surprising that Sun-Tzu, one of the best known military strategists, and his thoughts were influential at this period. Early records indicate that Sun-Tzu lived in the Warring state era and his very famous work *The Art of War* was influenced by the increasing violence of this era. In contrast to its name, the book does not really focus on war time strategies, but on strategies that would prevent the outbreak of war. The core of the strategy for Sun Tzu is not to defeat the enemy in battle, but to repress him without fighting. Sun Tzu therefore focuses on the pre-war period as the realm for strategy and hence pays particular attention to diplomacy at this stage. Sun-Tzu makes a number of suggestions for the use of diplomacy mostly before the war, but even usable during and after the war, all of which seem to be very important to be a good diplomacy player in international relations. He first advises to attack the enemy's strategy before attacking the enemy itself. He then mentions indirect methods for manipulating the enemy's actions in order to keep away the danger of being attacked. Another strategy Sun-Tzu suggests is to be flexible in strategy in regard to changing circumstances (Szykman, 1995). Finally, his famous saying of "all war is based on deception" is another piece where his thoughts could be related to the logic of diplomacy. Sun-Tzu advises that, "*when we are able to attack, we must seem unable; when using our forces, we must appear inactive; when we are near, we must make the enemy believe we are far away; when far away, we must make him believe we are near.*" Hence deception is worthy of consideration for both sides; and this part of Sun-Tzu's thoughts has a link with spying, which he highlights in detail.



In Practice



A piece from Sun-Tzu's *Art of War* over Spies and Spying in Foreign Policy

[4] ... what enables the wise sovereign and the good general to strike and conquer, and achieve things beyond the reach of ordinary men, is foreknowledge. [5] Now this foreknowledge cannot be elicited from spirits; it cannot be obtained inductively from experience, nor by any deductive calculation. [6] Knowledge of the enemy's dispositions can only be obtained from other men. [7] Hence the use of spies, of whom there are five classes: (1) Local spies; (2) inward spies; (3) converted spies; (4) doomed spies; (5) surviving spies. [8]. When these five kinds of spy are all at work, none can discover the secret system. This is called "divine manipulation of the threads." It is the sovereign's most precious faculty. [9] Having local spies means employing the services of the inhabitants of a district. [10]. Having inward spies, making use of officials of the enemy.[11]. Having converted spies, getting

hold of the enemy's spies and using them for our own purposes. [12]. Having doomed spies, doing certain things openly for purposes of deception, and allowing our spies to know of them and report them to the enemy.[13]. Surviving spies, finally, are those who bring back news from the enemy's camp. [14]. Hence it is that which none in the whole army are more intimate relations to be maintained than with spies. None should be more liberally rewarded. In no other business should greater secrecy be preserved.[15]. Spies cannot be usefully employed without a certain intuitive sagacity. [16]. They cannot be properly managed without benevolence and straightforwardness. [17]. Without subtle ingenuity of mind, one cannot make certain of the truth of their reports. [18]Be subtle! be subtle! and use your spies for every kind of business. [19]. If a secret piece of news is divulged by a spy before the time is ripe, he must be put to death together with the man to whom the secret was told. [21]The enemy's spies who have come to spy on us must be sought out, tempted with bribes, led away and comfortably housed. Thus they will become converted spies and available for our service.[22]. It is through the information brought by the converted spy that we are able to acquire and employ local and inward spies. [23]. It is owing to his information, again, that we can cause the doomed spy to carry false tidings to the enemy. [24]. Lastly, it is by his information that the surviving spy can be used on appointed occasions.[25]. The end and aim of spying in all its five varieties is knowledge of the enemy; and this knowledge can only be derived, in the first instance, from the converted spy. Hence it is essential that the converted spy be treated with the utmost liberality.

The tradition of equal diplomacy ended with Qin dynasty's unification of China in 221 BCE. With the new coercive universal empire, China's diplomatic dealing with the foreign world lessened to level of defense and trade issues. Trade issues were not the most important focus of the relationship with the immediate neighbors of the Chinese empire, but of the relationship with the distant world. The immediate neighborhood relations centered on border issues or exchange of technology.

The diplomatic dealing with countries situated distant from China was mostly based on trade. These countries were engaged in diplomatic practice with China in order to reach Chinese goods; on the other hand, for Chinese rulers, these relations were accepted for their tribute. Chinese emperors saw foreigners who try to contact with China as potential subjects; and tribute in this relationship was the gift given as a part of diplomatic exchange (Bielenstein, 2005: 5-6).

Diplomatic missions passed both from China to the foreign world and from the outside world to China, but missions sent from China were much lesser than the incoming ones. From China's perspective, foreign countries were ranked with respect to one another and all envoys were not met by the emperor directly. In a similar vein, gifts were not always accepted. Imperial China had a unilateral perspective regarding diplomacy, while foreign countries held their dealing according to an equal relationship.

In sum, although in the imperial period Chinese diplomacy was grasped differently from the balance of power perspective, diplomatic dealing at this period embraced the entire range of diplomatic relations. Diplomacy was used to offer good-will, to discuss a protocol, to form alliances, to make peace, to delineate borders, to spy, to arrange marriages, to negotiate trade issues (Bielenstein, 2005: 7-8).

Ancient India

Diplomatic practices were quite systematically designed in Ancient India but they were also quite different from the coexistent systems in other parts of the world. India had very little political connection to the outside world until Alexander the Great conquered its northern regions in 326 BCE. Subsequently, with the establishment of

the Mauryan Empire, which dominated ancient India until 187 BCE, had changed the course of diplomacy in India. The Mauryan Empire was particularly active in diplomacy in order to extend its influence both in politics and in religious situation. This active diplomacy practice continued for centuries until the Rajput Kingdoms gained control and dominated the region by the 8th century. After this time, India began to be isolated from the rest of the world.

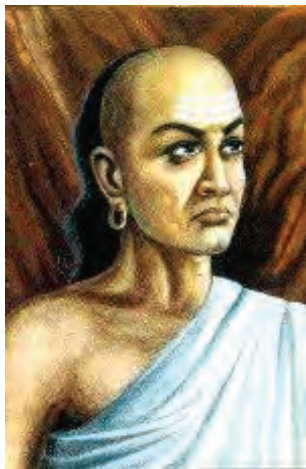
The general pattern of diplomacy in ancient India can best be inferred from the work of the famous ancient philosopher and statesman Kautilya. While Kautilya's book *Arthshastra* is a systematic account of the significance, types and patterns of diplomacy on one hand, it is a great treatise of realism on the other. Kautilya is widely accepted as the first great political realist in history; and in conjunction with his approach to international relations, his account on diplomacy represents the same political realist tone.

Kautilya defined the state system as a ruthless realistic system which was determined by self-interest, compatible with the structure of the existing state system of India in that time. India at this period was mostly composed of a number of small independent states, being in a rivalry with each other with the exception of the Magadha kingdom. Kautilya played an important role in the fall of the Magadha kingdom and the rise to power of the Mauryan dynasty. In fact, Kautilya was a political realist; and the key theme of his theory represented in his book was war. According to Kautilya, war is what defines inter-state relations. Kautilya defined six forms of foreign policy (from *Arthshastra* 7.1.13 – 18).

- Peace: entering into a treaty; when the state is weaker than the enemy, it should make peace.
- War: attacking and doing injury; when the state is stronger than the enemy, it should make war.
- Non alignment: staying quiet; when the state is equal with the enemy and neither is capable of harming the other, the state should stay quiet.
- Seeking shelter: When threatened by a stronger enemy the state should seek protection from another stronger state, somewhat forming an alliance.

- Shows of force: When the state is increasing in capabilities, it should augment and mobilize resources to prepare for war.
- Double-dealing: When a state seeks help for attacking another state, it resorts to peace and war at the same time with different states.

As seen in his definition of foreign policy strategies of states, the core theme is war and diplomacy in this regard is only an extension of warfare (Hamilton, 1995: 29). In other words, Kautilya has put more emphasis on war at the expense of diplomacy. However, this does not mean that diplomacy was not an important means in state relations. Rather, as mentioned previously, India at this period of time was engaged in extensive diplomatic exchange. In line with this practice, Kautilya did not ignore the practice of diplomacy in his work; rather, he discussed the role of diplomacy through diplomats in detail and he wrote an entire section about how to fight with the weapon of diplomacy.



The Enemy of My Enemy is my Friend
Kautilya is most famous for outlining the foreign policy principle of “the enemy of my enemy is my friend” which can clearly be seen in his following words; “Your neighbor is not a candidate for alliance, only enemies of a neighboring country shall be allies of the country”

Kautilya stated in his book that diplomats should be chosen among successful officials who are members of the administrative body.

He then classified diplomats in three categories as plenipotentiary envoys; envoys, for specific missions and messengers. For Kautilya, envoys shall be assigned permanently for all states in the immediate neighborhood.

From Kautilya’s work, along with other valuable sources, we can derive that in Ancient India, diplomatic dealings were well-developed and structured, particularly in regard to diplomats and the roles they played in diplomacy. There were detailed rules of diplomatic immunities and privileges of the inauguration and termination of diplomatic missions and also of the selection and duties of a diplomat. In Ancient India, the functions of diplomats, or envoys as was named at this time, were threefold (Kumar, 2014: 3).

- Declaration of war and peace
- Forging alliances
- Gathering intelligence overtly, and also spying.

Spying was understood as an integral part of diplomacy. All ambassadors were potential spies with diplomatic immunity and in fact all diplomatic representatives were expected to spy, engage in acts of sabotage and attempt to secure defections from the enemy’s army. (Boesche, 2003: 22)

Alliances as a Means of Diplomacy: Diplomacy in Ancient Greece

The principles and methods of Greek diplomacy had been developed by the 5th century. However, from Homeric records, we learn that before the 5th century, Greeks had used embassies as a means of foreign affairs. Again in Homer’s Illiad and Odyssey, the first elements of inter-state relations could be found in conjunction with the Olympic Games held in 776 BCE. It was an event where the elite of Greece met and have important discussions. However, it is also important to note that although we could mention some system of diplomatic practice, there was not a structured system of diplomacy even after the 5th century, especially when compared with the great tradition of the Near East. Regardless of its being the cradle of the Western civilization, ancient Greece can not be considered as the golden era of diplomacy. Greeks, as Cohen stated, had their indigenous customs reflecting their common culture (Cohen, 2001: 31).

The city-state system of which no single city-state was powerful enough to establish hegemony, such as the one we witnessed in certain periods of time in the ancient Near East, compelled the city-states to deal with each other as equals. This structure caused a diplomatic traffic although this traffic did not lead to the emergence of a fixed system and an administrative structure. Diplomacy remained, for the most part, rudimentary in ancient Greece, but there is no doubt that a pattern had emerged. The structure of the inter-state system caused another diplomatic formation as a means of foreign policy, forming alliances. In this line, considerable attention was given to the winning of allies and making of treaties during the 5th and especially 4th centuries. The duration of the alliances were mainly specified, particularly in the 5th century since alliances were founded on the basis of allying for war. In other words, city-states, aware of their weaknesses in face of each other, formed alliances in case of a threat of war. In the 4th century, alliance treaties began to be specified in duration as for ever, and the reason for this may be the new understanding of inter-state relations that alliances shall be based on peace rather than war (Mosley, 2001: 321-322). Treaties were concluded to establish both alliance and friendship. The difference between alliance and friendship was that while friendship required parties only to refrain from harming each other, alliance required mutual assistance in case of war.

The main source for ancient Greek diplomacy has been the writings of Thucydides. It is widely accepted that the first account of diplomacy at this period was a diplomatic conference held in 432 BCE. As Nicolson quoted from Thucydides, this conference was convened by Sparta to decide with its allies on punishing Athens with war due to its violation of treaties. While this conference was convened by Sparta for its allies of the Peloponnesian League against Athens, it is known that an Athenian delegation was also allowed to participate at and even to be involved in debates. In fact, the Athenian delegation was there for another specific mission but still was allowed to attend; and this is a sign that by 5th century BCE Greeks were aware of some diplomatic right and some kind of immunity (Nicolson, 2001: 21-22). However,

different from the ancient Near East tradition, being inviolate was not a general rule that applied to all envoys; rather, it is known that in times of war, diplomatic delegates were executed.

The Amphychthonyc League (league of neighbors), formed in 6th century BCE, was mainly an religious association and it was composed of tribes not city-states. The amphictyonic league maintained interstate assemblies with permanent secretariats. Sparta formed alliances in the mid-6th century BCE, and by 500 BCE it had created the Peloponnesian League. The Peloponnesian League was formed for decisions on questions of war, peace, or alliance; and each member had one vote. In the 5th century BCE, Athens led the Delian League during the Greco-Persian Wars. The league was formed to liberate eastern Greek cities from Persian rule and as a defense to possible attacks from Persia. The Delian League consisted of more than 200 members.



Thucydides (460 BCE– 400 BCE)

The Greek historian Thucydides chronicled the struggle between Sparta and Athens which was reported to have lasted 30 years in his book "*History of the Peloponnesian War*". This book was the first recorded political analysis of a nation's war policies. The scope and approach of the book was and still is accepted as the origin of political realist thought and Thucydides as the forefather of the realist international relations account.

Another peculiarity of the ancient Greek diplomacy was that they preferred oral messages to written notes; therefore, there is not a large archive of diplomatic correspondence of ancient Greece. There were three kinds of representatives:

- *angelos*: a messenger used for brief and specific missions
- *keryx*: a herald
- *proxenos*: a resident consul but the proxenos were citizens of the city in which they resided, not of the city-state that employed them. If a resident representative was needed in another state, then a resident was given the title of *proxenos* by the state which he represented. In other words, the *proxenos* looked after the interests of a foreign state while residing in the state of which he was a citizen.

Envoys were selected from among the prominent members of the state by the city assembly and they were not necessarily qualified persons. They were rather chosen for their political stance and for their association with the state which they were negotiating with. Representatives were first expected to show their oratorical abilities. The number of members in a mission ranged from three to ten men, and they were given brief instructions such as; ratifying treaties by oral oath, inquiring about terms for peace, and solving a dispute in the interest of the community (Wolpert, 2001: 76).

One of the distinctive features of Greek diplomacy was its open and public nature. Decisions were taken and treaties were approved by public debate. This open nature of diplomacy deferred the development of an administrative structure and record keeping. In the meantime, since decisions were taken on public debate, envoys were sent with strictly determined instructions; therefore, had no flexibility. It is thus widely accepted that diplomatic representatives in ancient Greece were not negotiators, but skillful orators for advocating the given policy. Another fact that was limiting the effectiveness of the representative was the wide suspicion that envoys were vulnerable to bribery. Being open to such accusations was really limiting for them. This suspicion was also the reason for the prohibition on extending gifts to envoys, which was a settled institution in the ancient Near East diplomacy.

The Roman World and The Use of Diplomacy

Considering its longevity and organization, the Roman Empire contributed little to the development of diplomacy. This may be explained by their will to impose their policies on others instead of negotiating. As Nicolson mentioned "...[Romans] they sought to impose their will, rather than to negotiate on a basis of reciprocity" (Nicolson, 2001:14). This, of course, does not mean that diplomacy was unimportant for the Romans. Rather, it had an important place in governing their relations with rival states in Italy and in managing their relations with foreign peoples after establishing their empire. However, as it is widely accepted that the contribution of Romans to diplomacy is much more related to the international law and is represented in the theory, not the practice, of diplomacy.

In the early years of the Roman Republic, procedures similar to those developed in Greece were used. People were expressing their will through popular assemblies, and therefore were arbiters of diplomatic issues such as war, peace and treaties. Envoys from foreign powers never came before the assemblies of the people (Millar, 1988: 348). However, as Rome came to power, the Senate took over the authority and gained a disproportionate influence, along with the right of choosing and instructing envoys and of receiving incoming embassies. After the empire was established, diplomacy turned to be part of regular government policy which was in the hands of the emperor, despite the Senate remained.



Figure 2.5

Around 600 BCE, Rome was one of many small city-states in Latium, defending itself from the threat of incursion of tribes. Its rise to superiority resulted from its ability in using warfare, a successful strategy for colonization and diplomacy (Campbell, 2001: 4). In the course of the Republic, many exchanges took place between Rome and its Italian allies and between Rome and various Greek states. They extended their political influence not only through warfare but also agreements, alliances and treaties. However, it is also important to mention that Romans used diplomacy brutally, as a method. They forced people to conclude a treaty; and the conditions of these treaties were determined on the basis of the community's power to resist Rome's demands. In this vein, the stronger the resistance was, the more advantageous the conditions of the treaty were. Through these treaties, the Roman Republic began to establish its colonies; and by 264 BCE, more than 150 treaties had been concluded. When they completed the conquest of Italy, their diplomatic dealings headed for centralized monarchies.

Romans inherited the diplomacy pattern from Greece, but they developed a distinctive method to suit their own needs. Envoys were chosen not for their qualification, as in the ancient Greece. Since envoys were given strict instructions prepared by the Senate, there was no need to seek the skills for negotiating. On their return, envoys were subject to report to the Senate, and the final decision on the issues which the envoy reported was given by the Senate. Diplomatic representatives could be impeached if they exceeded their authority. However, envoys from Rome to the external world were rarely initiated by the Senate; rather, they were sent to places which sent their own envoy to ask for assistance previously. The function of diplomacy was simple and similar to those of other ancient civilizations: making peace, regulating trade and establishing a treaty. The right to be inviolate was not only accorded to foreign envoys but also extended to include their staff. Following this right, an envoy who committed an offense in Rome was sent back to his home country by guard to be judged by his own authorities (Nicolson, 2001: 17-18).

In the imperial period, the most changing feature of Roman diplomacy was the role that the emperor played. The role of the emperor was no doubt

superior. Decisions were taken by the emperor and the envoys were met by him in person. Under the command of the emperors the main function of diplomacy was to achieve agreements and treaties. However, the terms were mostly dictated by Rome; and there was no tone of reciprocity in treaties. The difference in the diplomatic practice regarding treaties was not limited to the reciprocity issue. They also developed the practice of taking hostages for the guarantee of the terms. This practice was implemented unilaterally, the Romans never sent hostages. Specifications of the hostages, such as the number, the age, the duration, was determined by the articles in the treaty. The hostages were well treated unless the terms of the treaty were violated; however, when violations occurred, the hostages were arrested and began to be treated as prisoners of war. Covert gathering of intelligence, if not spying, was a major function of embassies in all periods; and when they could not gather vital information, this meant they in one aspect failed in their mission. However, intelligence gathering in terms of spying was mostly based on military personnel; and diplomats were in a secondary position in this regard.

Taking hostages as guarantors of a treaty persisted long time in European politics. An interesting example is the Treaty of Aix La- Chapelle of 1748, which ended the War on Austrian Succession. Following the terms of the treaty, two British peers, Lord Suffolk and Lord Cathcart, were sent to Paris.

Diplomatic correspondence was used to set up meetings and clarify discussed topics after a face to face meeting. As mentioned earlier, the emperor listened to the embassies in person, and responded verbally at that time; however, the definitive reply was embodied subsequently in a letter (Millar, 1988: 358). Romans usually did not send envoys for the letters, they handed the letter to the envoy of the state with which the correspondence took place. Unlike ancient Greece, an exchange of gifts was accepted in Roman Empire, and accepting a gift was opening the way for further contact, while refusing was some kind of warning to the sending state (Campbell, 2001: 13). Finally, it should be mentioned that diplomatic processes were a tool

not only for interactions with independent foreign powers, but also for the internal communication between all actors ranging from personal to corporate to civic, provincial, and imperial (Eilers, 2009: 13). In fact, the most important channel for contact was provided by diplomacy in an empire controlling around 5 million square kilometers.



your turn ¹

Do you think that covert intelligence gathering and bribery are favorable means of diplomacy? Why?/Why not?

MEDIEVAL DIPLOMACY

Masters of Diplomacy: The Byzantine Empire

The Byzantine Empire originally was the eastern part of the Roman Empire; and it was one of the longest lasting political entities in history, from 330 CE until the fall of Constantinople in 1453. One of the most important reasons for the empire's longevity was its use of diplomacy.



Figure 2.6 The Flag of the Byzantine Empire,
An Empire looking at East and West

Diplomacy was a necessity for the Byzantine Empire because it had enemies on all of its borders and there was always a threat of invasion while

for a certain time it had limited military power. The military force of the Byzantine Empire never exceeded the number of 140,000. While the threat of invasion came from all quarters, e.g., from Nomadic people to Germanic people, from Slavs to Hungarians and Russians, its internal resources were not enough to keep a military permanently in order to give a military response to these threats. Since the rulers of the empire were aware of their military weakness, they first adapted the practices of former civilizations and developed their own way of diplomacy with their political and cultural contributions. For example, they adapted the practices of protocol and dynastic marriages from the Near Eastern civilization, oration as a tool for public speaking from Greece, and the divide and rule tactics from the Roman Empire. In this manner the diplomatic methods they exercised were ranging from the, formation of alliances to dynastic marriages, from exploiting the enemy's weaknesses, to deception and the use of religion.

Divide and Rule –Divide et Imperia

It was an important strategy for the Roman imperial system. Romans divided the newly conquered peoples into their component units such as tribes; or city-states made separate alliances and treaties with each to control and make them contribute to the defense of the empire in common.

The Byzantine Empire adopted this method in its external affairs with divide its enemies and embroil them to each other.

The Byzantines employed a number of tactics, both overt and covert to achieve their aims through diplomacy rather than military force. It is therefore common to label Byzantine diplomacy as “*war by other means*” (Antonucci, 1993: 11). They were unique in their method of involvement in internal affairs of other countries. For this aim, the empire initiated a new institution for diplomatic practice, the Bureau of Barbarians.

The Bureau of Barbarians as a department of government was responsible for foreign relations, primarily with the barbarians living on the Balkan Peninsula. Founded in 740, the Bureau is the first sample of a permanent office dealing with foreign affairs. The official in charge was the *logothete*,

responsible for the imperial post, the supervision of diplomatic officers, and the reception of foreign envoys; and he eventually became the emperor's chief adviser on foreign affairs. The logothete was also responsible for the internal security of the empire until the 11th century. The Bureau sent envoys on diplomatic missions to barbarian lands in order to gather information from every possible source. This was the main function of it. After the envoy's return to Byzantium, which took mostly years, the information they had reported were recorded and constituted the essential basis of their knowledge on the weaknesses or strengths of their enemies and/or allies. Although the Byzantium Empire founded the first institution responsible for foreign relations, the resident ambassador did not emerge.

Impressing the foreign representative with special treatment and amazing features of Constantinople, a city inhabited with near half million people, huge walls, well-armed soldiers, and bazaars selling goods from all over the world was another tool that was used by the empire. It was almost inevitable to be impressed by the outstanding beauty of the ceremonies at Hagia Sophia, the imperial court, and even by the entertainments in the hippodrome. The throne room in the palace where foreign representatives were presented to the emperor was equipped with lots of mechanical devices again to impress the visitors. The throne of the emperor was mobile and it arose while the visitors were bowing, so the emperor displayed himself superior. There were also mechanical lions which roared; and golden birds sang in trees. All of them were somewhat unimaginable thus very impressing at this period of time (Hamilton, 1995: 21; Antonucci, 1993: 12). Visitors were also given valuable gifts as a sign that more gifts were forthcoming if his tribe allies with the emperor. Diplomatic representatives were not allowed to have a conversation with the emperor, but they were treated well throughout their visit unless conditions turn bad. When the visit of the envoy was not satisfying in regard to the emperor's demands, they could be put in prison.

Aside from the valuable gifts extended to diplomats, Byzantine emperors granted lands to peoples with whom they wanted to be allied. Forming alliances was a very important aspect of Byzantium diplomacy and one of the methods

used for this aim involved marriages of Byzantium princesses to foreign potentates. Byzantine princesses were sent abroad in diplomatic alliances designed to sustain the empire's policy towards foreign powers. They were even educated and prepared for this task; and they often performed an ambassadorial function which was part of the empire's use of marriages as a diplomatic tool (Herrin, 2013: 18).



Theodora Kantakouzenos, the daughter of Emperor John VI Kantakouzenos, got married with the Ottoman ruler Orhan in 1346 to be in alliance with the Ottomans and to prevent Ottoman support to the opponents of the emperor in the ongoing civil war in Byzantium.

The use of surrogates was also a method used by the empire to benefit from the weaknesses of their enemies. Emperors always had a list full of pretenders for almost every foreign throne. If a preparation of an attack of a foreign power was perceived, the emperor could immediately release a pretender to this country along with military assistance and money. By causing an internal clash in the enemy power, the emperor could achieve to fend the danger (Antonucci, 1993: 13).

Religion was also a method of diplomacy in the Byzantine Empire, and it conducted a missionary operation. Byzantine priests were often spreading faith in front of military authority. This led not only to the spread of the religious doctrine but also to an assumption that the Empire was the source of all religious and political authority. The effect of this

method can easily be seen in that the Byzantium warfare occurred in the non-Christian East much more than in the West (Hamilton, 1993: 22).

In fact, the main motive in the use of diplomacy for the Byzantine Empire was to avoid war, and all diplomatic practice was devoted to this aim. Therefore, the empire used diplomacy as a means of foreign policy continuously, employing more emphasis on it than military means. Nonetheless, it did not institutionalize it as the predecessor civilizations. However, as Hamilton stated, later developments in diplomacy were reactions to a more complicated international environment until the 14th century. In other words, the development of permanent and institutional diplomacy was due to obligations caused by the inter-state system that emerged. It is also important to mention that the more advanced diplomatic practices of Italian city-states were derived, though indirectly, from the Byzantine Empire. It is well known and commonly accepted that Byzantine diplomatic practice was passed on to the West through Venetians, who had long and intimate relation with the empire (Nicolson, 2001: 27).

Diplomacy in the Early Islamic World

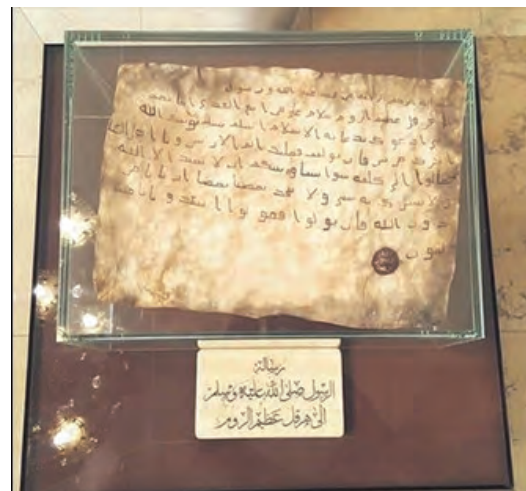
Diplomacy in the Islamic world began with the establishment of the first Islamic state in 622; and it was not founded through military means but by a social contract, the Medina Charter. (Khan, 2006). The Charter was an agreement settling the inter-tribal conflict between Muslims, Jews and pagans; and it constituted a free state of a pluralistic community. It is a constitution which provided for dispute resolution, a tax system, rights and responsibilities to both Muslims and non-Muslims.

During this time of the Prophet, diplomatic representatives were received, and they were accepted through ceremonies. Gift exchanging was a common conduct of diplomacy as in the previous civilizations and cultures. In 631, the Prophet received a delegation of Christians, including Christian scholars, from Najran at Medina. Their stay took three days and they were engaged in discussions on Islam and Christianity. The delegation was allowed to use the Mosque for prayers, but since they refused to convert to Islam, they accepted to pay a tribute, consisting of

garments, horses and camels in case of war. Between 630 and 631, many delegations came to Medina; and therefore, this period is named as the Year of Delegation. Most of them were representatives of Arab tribes coming to declare their acceptance of Islam; however, as in the Najran case, there were also Christians without an intention to accept the religion, but to conclude an agreement.

The case of Najran delegates was common in Islamic diplomacy; in other words, diplomatic representatives enjoyed immunity in the Islamic State. They were free to practice their religion as it was with the Najran delegates. Exemption from duties for the personnel properties of a diplomatic delegation were given on a reciprocal basis (Salmi, 1998: 134). While receiving delegations, the Prophet also sent diplomatic delegations to Byzantium, Persia, Abyssinia and Egypt to invite them to Islam.

The Letter of the Prophet Muhammed to the Byzantine Emperor Heraklius.



The function of diplomats was to communicate with other states, to conclude an agreement or alliance which was decided previously, to arrange the exchange of prisoners and the truce, and to announce war. Most certainly, another function of envoys was to gather information about the weaknesses and/or strengths of the host country. The function of diplomacy in these early years was at the most basic level since the strength of the state in the absence of at least an equal power did not raise the need to a more complex function

for diplomacy. An equilibrium was reached in the inter-state level only after the establishment of the Abbasid Dynasty in Baghdad (750-1258); and it required more complex functions and more friendly relationships. This situation, in the meantime, added more importance to the role of diplomats in the Islamic world. However, diplomacy was still a temporary necessity and would remain as such for a long time, even after permanent diplomacy began in the European world.

In theory, for Islam the world was divided into two abodes: *dar-el Islam* and *dar-el harb*. The abode of Islam consists of countries where the rules of Islam are implemented and Islamic rituals are performed. People of that abode are Muslims and non-Muslims who live in the Islamic territory according to a covenant. The abode of war comprises countries where the religious and political rules of Islam are consequently not implemented; therefore, a state of war was always prevalent in these countries. (Wahbeh al-Zuhili, 2005: 278). In this perspective, being not in peace with the *dar-el harb* does not mean it is imperative to fight in military terms; rather, the state of war could be suspended for very long periods based on a treaty. In other words, being non-Muslim is not sufficient for waging a war; rather, aggression against Muslims, assistance for the victims of injustice and self-defense are legitimate causes for war. Even against the enemies before the declaration of war, the enemy was given options to choose between Islam for peace, peace through treaty or finally war (Wahbeh al-Zuhili, 2005: 280). The door for communication and contact was open; and during

periods of suspended war, safe passage was granted for envoys. At this point, the *aman* was important for safe passage and conduct. *The Aman* entitled the holder to enter Islamic lands and to obtain the protection of the authorities for his person, his household and his property (Hamilton, 1995: 27).

Diplomatic contact between Islamic or Arab, Byzantine and also Latin rulers were frequent in the Middle Ages. The motives for diplomatic practice were similar to other ages and civilizations: political concern regarding peace and war, economic or commercial motives and definitely information gathering. Emissaries played the most important role in this vein; and it can be said that diplomatic envoys were great travelers in the Middle Ages. As Drocourt stated, they usually spent more time travelling than negotiating because of the distance between the Arab region and Constantinople or the whole Western part of Christendom. (Drocourt, 2012: 92).



your turn²

We have seen that religion became a basis for diplomacy In the Medieval World. In line with this argument, is it possible to conclude that the only motive for diplomacy in the Medieval World was religion? Explain why you agree/don't agree with this argument.

LO1

Grasp the birth of the first practices of diplomacy.

The history of diplomacy is as old as the human societies. As the first intercourse began between different tribes, messengers began travelling and delivering messages, a process which is accepted as the first diplomatic practice. As primitive societies developed and civilizations emerged, diplomacy also became more institutionalized and organized. The first state-like polities established in Mesopotamia were the initiators of the tradition of diplomacy that evolved and transformed and formed the basis of diplomacy as we know today. Many elements and practices of diplomacy can be traced back to those times.

The first states system appeared in Mesopotamia in the 4th century and was dominated by Sumerians, Babylonian, Akadian and Assyrians. The significance of this period lied in the invention of writing by the Sumerians which has also changed the shape of diplomacy. Letters began to be exchanged between states with the invention of writing. The remarkable point about these letters that they were not written by the kings but by their officials, hence the representatives of the states like the modern diplomats. The lingua franca of diplomacy inevitably became Sumerian in this period, which was related to the political domination of the Sumerian state in the region. The conquest of Sumer by the Akkadian Kingdom ended this domination and the diplomatic language also came to be dominated by Arcadian. Brotherhood, the sending and greeting of messengers, exchanging gifts, dynastic marriages and mutual assistance in case of conflict were the main diplomatic themes of this period. These themes were developed by the Babylonian King Hammurabi, who used diplomacy especially in terms of forming alliances. Other contemporary leaders adopted the methods developed by Hammurabi in a way to achieve their goals. After Hammurabi, the domination of Mesopotamia ended and the focus of diplomacy shifted to the Near East. There is a considerable number of diplomatic documents belonging to this period and they are brought together in two main archives: Mari Archives and Amarna Letters. Mari archives present clear evidence of the existence of arbitration and mediation, diplomatic codes of conduct, the exchange of envoys and the description of their missions. Likewise, Amarna letters provide information about the conduct of diplomacy in terms of Strategic-military cooperation, treaty negotiations, dynastic marriages, regulation of trade, strengthening friendly relations and negotiating alliances.

Another early practice of diplomacy is to be found in China. The first era of Chinese diplomacy, called the Warring States Era, lasted between 656 and 221 when diplomacy was based on leagues, missions and an organized system of correspondence between many warring states; and when it also included manoeuvres, secrecy and bribery. The second era of Chinese diplomacy, on the other hand, was shaped by trade relations, especially with the distant world. This led to an interaction of diplomatic traditions of different civilizations and their transformation as they mutually influenced each other.

Ancient India provides another early diplomatic tradition which includes elements that are still being used in modern diplomacy in one way or other. Duties of diplomats were clearly defined as declaring war and peace, forging alliances and gathering intelligence overtly, and also spying. Their privileges and immunities were also defined.

Another civilization that diplomacy can be traced back to is Ancient Greece. Diplomacy in Ancient Greece mainly remained within the Greek world, namely resulting in the relations between the Greek city-states. The dominant character of diplomacy was alliances that evolved into being permanent. Another characteristic of the Greek diplomacy was that the diplomatic messages were not delivered as written but oral messages instead, which is the main reason for the absence of diplomatic documents of the period. The main novelty of diplomacy in Ancient Greece, however, was the open and public nature of it.

The last stop of early diplomacy would be the Roman Empire, which inherited the diplomatic tradition of Ancient Greece. For Rome, diplomacy was an instrument of increasing its influence through agreements, alliances and treaties. But using coercive means to reach these agreements, alliances and treaties, in a way initiated what is today called coercive diplomacy. The main actor of Roman diplomacy was the emperor himself, surpassing the envoys and playing a determinant role resembling that of the political leaders that withhold diplomacy in modern times.

LO 2

Understand the evolution of these practices throughout centuries and different civilizations

Summary

The most established form of diplomacy in the pre-modern era was in the Byzantine Empire, for which diplomacy was a necessity as it was surrounded by enemies on all its borders. Byzantine Empire were influenced by earlier diplomatic practices; and they adopted and synthesized them in a holistic way. Consequently, this established a governmental body responsible for foreign relations under the name of Bureau of Barbarians, which can be considered as the first form of ministry of foreign affairs. Its head, who can be compared to a minister of foreign affairs, was the chief advisor of the emperor on foreign affairs and was responsible for the imperial post, the supervision of diplomatic officers, and the reception of foreign envoys. The responsibility of the envoys was to gather information from every possible source about the place that they had been sent to. But these envoys were not residents as is the case in modern diplomacy. Still, through their long relations, the Byzantine practice influenced the Italian city-states, which then established the first form of modern permanent diplomacy.

1 The first known diplomatic letter was sent by _____.

- a. King of Ebla to King of Hamazi
- b. King of Sumer to King of Akkadian
- c. King of Babylon to King of Egypt
- d. King of Hattie to King of Mitanni
- e. King of Assyria to the King of Babylon

2 Which of the following is **not** a member of the “Great Powers” of the late bronze age in the Near East?

- a. Egypt
- b. Hattie
- c. Ebla
- d. Mitanni
- e. Babylonia

3 Kadesh Treaty was signed between:

- a. Assyria and Mitanni
- b. Ebla and Hamazi
- c. Egypt and Babylonia
- d. Hittite and Egypt
- e. Babylonia and Assyria

4 The writer of *The Art of War* is; _____.

- a. Kautilya
- b. Sun-Tzu
- c. Homer
- d. Amarna
- e. Magadha

5 According to Kautilya, which of the following is **not** a form of foreign policy?

- a. Peace
- b. War
- c. Seeking shelter
- d. Alliance
- e. Double-dealing

6 Which term was used in Ancient Greece to describe a resident consul?

- a. Angelos
- b. Keryx
- c. Proxenos
- d. Polites
- e. Metoikos

7 Which of the following is used first in the Roman Empire as a method to guarantee the term of treaties?

- a. Signing
- b. Taking an oath
- c. Dynastic Marriages
- d. Taking hostages
- e. Touching the throat

8 Which of the following is **not** one of the diplomatic practices that Byzantine Empire borrowed from earlier civilizations?

- a. Practices of protocol
- b. Dynastic marriages
- c. Oration as a tool for public speaking
- d. Divide and rule
- e. Use of religion

9 What was the name of the government department responsible for foreign relations in the Byzantine Empire?

- a. Ministry of foreign affairs
- b. Dragoman
- c. Logothete
- d. The Bureau of Barbarians
- e. Translation Office

10 Which period in early Islamic conduct was named as the Year of Delegation?

- a. 622-623
- b. 635-636
- c. 630-631
- d. 634-635
- e. 644-645

1. a

If your answer is not correct, review the section on “The Beginning of Institutional Diplomatic Practice: Mesopotamian Diplomacy”

6. c

If your answer is not correct, review the section on “Ancient Greece”

2. c

If your answer is not correct, review the section on “The Beginning of Institutional Diplomatic Practice: Mesopotamian Diplomacy”

7. d

If your answer is not correct, review the section on “The Roman World and Uses of Diplomacy”

3. d

If your answer is not correct, review the section on “The Beginning of Institutional Diplomatic Practice: Mesopotamian Diplomacy”

8. e

If your answer is not correct, review the section on “Masters of Diplomacy”

4. b

If your answer is not correct, review the section on “Ancient China”

9. d

If your answer is not correct, review the section on “Masters of Diplomacy”

5. b

If your answer is not correct, review the section on “Ancient India”

10. c

If your answer is not correct, review the section on “Diplomacy in the Early Islamic World”

Do you think that covert practices as covert intelligence gathering is a favorable means of diplomacy? Why?/Why not?

your turn 1

Throughout our analysis of the historical evolution of diplomacy until the end of the Middle Ages, we could not find much justification to defend open diplomacy or, in other words, to accuse secret diplomacy as a false tool to be used in diplomatic practice. While the only sample which was based on open/public diplomacy was ancient Greece, we saw that the openness was later interpreted critically as the weakness of the ancient Greek diplomacy. Remember that Greek city states were disdainful of secrecy and suspicious of their own diplomats; and therefore, negotiations were conducted orally and publicly. Even, exchanging gifts was forbidden. Apart from the Greek case, during the ancient and medieval times, secrecy in diplomacy, and in particular all secret techniques including information gathering, were approved by nearly all societies.

Following the Greeks, Rome's practice of diplomacy, as we have discussed, was much more based on imposing their will on others; and their contribution to diplomacy was rather mere. After all, during the decline of the Roman Empire, bribery and intelligence became frequent tools for surviving. The successor of the Roman Empire Byzantium was too weak in military terms to back its survival while being threatened by invasion from virtually all quarters. Therefore, the Byzantium Empire put its hope on survival in strategies like playing off its enemies against each other. This strategy was implemented through a number of methods such as bribery, deceit, fraud, intelligence gathering, disinformation, and suspicion along with ceremonial proceedings to amaze and confuse foreign emissaries. Gathering and manipulating information on allies and enemies was, therefore, one of the main diplomatic practices for Byzantium.

During the Renaissance, secrecy, suspicion and duplicity became established diplomatic techniques. Secrecy became an integral part of diplomacy, which would characterize the modern international system until the 20th century. While in 1648 the modern international system was established with the signing of the Westphalia Treaty, the Westphalian system became immediately strategic and chess-like, which raised the importance of secrecy in diplomatic practices.

While we see idealistic accounts aiming to change the role of diplomacy in the following centuries, the practice of diplomacy continued to be secret, secret treaties, agreements and negotiation became more deeply embedded in the international relations system, and as the core part of secret diplomacy, no doubt covert activities were also embedded in it.

In fact, it wasn't until the First World War that secret diplomacy, along with its all practices, were understood as invalid. This was because people had been aware that one of the main reasons of the Great War lied behind the use of secret diplomacy. This conclusion was definitely true; and in practice, one of the main motives for the new international order was to forbid secret diplomacy or to make "open diplomacy" a principle or norm of international affairs.

However, it is well known that secret diplomacy or secret methods like information gathering continued to be used through the 20th century, especially under the conditions of the Cold War, although secret diplomacy was not approved. Today we are still discussing the effect of the digitalization of information on covert or illegal information gathering. As a result, we can not claim that covert methods of information gathering in diplomacy vanished in international affairs; however, we can insist on its abolishment due to the immorality of it.

For further information see Bjola, Corneliu and Murray Stuart (2016). *Secret Diplomacy: Concepts, Context, and Cases*, (London&New York: Routledge Diplomacy Studies). Particularly Murray, Stuart (2016), "Secret versus Open Diplomacy Across Ages", 13-29.

We have seen that religion became a basis for diplomacy In the Medieval World. In line with this argument, is it possible to conclude that the only motive for diplomacy in the Medieval World was religion? Explain why you agree/don't agree with this argument.

your turn 2

Beginning from the Byzantium Empire, we saw that religion was one of the means of the practice of diplomacy. Spreading the Christian faith and converting other peoples to Christianity was used as a tool of forming alliances in the Medieval World. But is it possible to claim that the main motive for diplomacy in using religion was to convert other peoples to Christianity, or was it based actually on a political/strategic choice?

There is little evidence that religion was a real motive for diplomacy other than being a strategic tool of it. Because when faced with other Christian peoples who were against the empire, Byzantium's foreign policy was prompt to turn to its Roman origin and differentiate itself from the enemy Christians. When faced with non-Christians, Christianity served as a uniting instrument. However, when the enemy was belonged to Christendom, then they were identified as Barbarians. This little passage shows us clearly that the main motive was always political and strategic while religion was used to serve to these politico-strategic aims.

When it comes to Islam, there is also not much evidence to reach a different conclusion. Although in theory, Islam divided the world into two categories as dar-al Islam and dar-al harb, we know that in practice Muslims formed alliances with the dar-al harb or non-Muslim territories and did not go into war without strategic calculations.

Examining the causes of Crusades, which took place between 1096 and 1291 and which were presented as holy wars of Christians on Muslims, can provide us with an answer.

The Crusades were a series of wars between Christians and Muslims, which eventually propelled the status of European Christians and turned them into major players in struggle for land in the Mediterranean and the Middle East. By the end of the 11th century, Western Europe was still behind other Mediterranean civilizations, such as that of the Byzantine Empire and the Islamic Empire, while it was emerging as a power in its own right. When the Seljuk Turks took control of the Holy Lands, the emperor of the Byzantine Empire asked the Pope for help in regaining these lands for Christians. Apart from assisting the Byzantine Empire to regain the Holy Lands, one motive for the Pope in assisting was to give the Roman Catholic Church power over the church of the Byzantine Empire. We see also that the fourth crusade called on by the Pope was against Constantinople to guarantee the new emperor's decision on submitting the Byzantium Church to Rome by removing the resistance in Byzantium. The Crusades ultimately resulted in defeat for Europeans; however, the Roman Catholic Church experienced an increase in wealth, and the power of the Pope was raised with the end of the Crusades.

This very brief survey provides an insight for the answer we are searching for although not complete. It can be said, as a conclusion, that religion was never the single motive for peace or war, hence of diplomacy; and the underlying motive was always related to political and strategic interests.

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حضرت صاحبزادان روان ساخته گفت که در مقام انقیاد و ادای بر و جز مشایخت



چاره نمیدارم و متعاقب آن در یکی از فرستاد پیغام داد که آفتاب دولت مزین قدس ال

Chapter 3

Historical Evolution of Diplomacy: Transition to Permanent Diplomacy

After completing this chapter you will be able to;

Learning Outcomes

- 1 Track the roots of modern diplomacy back to the period starting from ancient times to renaissance.
- 2 Examine the emergence of certain diplomatic practices such as resident embassies among Italian city states.
- 3 Note the main aspects of diplomatic practices between Peace of Westphalia and Vienna Congress
- 4 Examine the emergence of diplomatic missions and specific ministries of foreign affairs.
- 5 Categorizing the differing features of the contemporary diplomacy in late 20th and 21st centuries.

Chapter Outline

Introduction
Diplomacy in the 'Old World': From Ancient Times to Renaissance
Italian City States and Renaissance Diplomacy
Old Diplomacy
Transition to Permanent Diplomacy
New Diplomacy

Key Terms

Old Diplomacy
Renaissance Diplomacy
Contemporary Diplomacy
Diplomatic Practices
Interwar Period
Ministries of Foreign Affairs
Diplomatic Immunity,
Permanent Diplomacy



INTRODUCTION

The argument that the international politics is built upon the power interactions among state actors is a well-established one. Mainstream theories of International Relations (IR) such as Realist and Liberal schools agree on that states usually pursue policies to consolidate their power status in world politics (Waltz, 1979; Keohane, 1984). How power is possessed is rather a more controversial debate though. While the realist school mainly focuses on use of force and dominance, liberal and constructivist approaches emphasize the significance of various interactions among states in the constitution of power. These interactions include negotiations, agreements, protesting, even sometimes threatening. Edmund Burke, an Irish journalist and later British member of the Parliament, called the sum of these practices diplomacy in the *Annual Register* for 1787 (Scott, 2011) and mentioned the term later in his address to the House of Commons in 1796 (Berridge, 2010: 1). Yet, the roots of diplomatic practices date much further back. Today's contemporary diplomacy has gone through a long evolution process to take its current shape. This chapter examines the historical evolution of diplomacy and emergence of its established customs and institutions. Here, we examine this evolution under five main terms. First, we focus on the diplomatic practices in the 'Old World', encompassing the eras from ancient times to Renaissance. Second, the Renaissance term and Italian city states' diplomatic interactions are analyzed. Third, Westphalia Peace, emergence of centralized national states and their implications on the diplomatic practices are elaborated under the name of 'Old Diplomacy'. In the fourth term, it is analyzed how diplomacy as a profession gained a more institutionalized structure mainly in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. Finally, we categorize contemporary diplomacy as 'New Diplomacy, a term which refers to the diplomatic practices that have been shaped within chaotic political environment of **interwar period, bipolar structure** of post-Second World War and globalized **post-Cold War** terms.

Interwar period

In diplomatic history, the term "Interwar Period" refers to the specific period between 1918 and 1939. The early years of interwar period was relatively peaceful and optimistic, yet especially the term after 1929 was characterized by insecurity. The Great Depression, Italian invasion of Abyssinia, Japanese invasion of Manchuria, German invasion of Czechoslovakia and inefficient structure of the League of Nations to react these crises were the major themes in the diplomatic agenda of this term.

TYPES OF INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM

Unipolar system: This is a type of international system in which one hegemon significantly dominates the other actors within the system. A typical example of such an international system is the period of early 1990s. The United States remained as the only superpower after the dissolution of the Soviet Union and dominated the international system.

Bipolar system: In bipolar international system, there are two major powers that are significantly superior to other actors in terms of distribution of power. A perfect example of such an international system is the Cold War term in which the United States and Soviet Union appeared as the two superpowers.

Multipolar system: Multipolarity refers to an international system with at least three great powers of which are similarly distributed. The period before the Great War (First World War) can be considered a multipolar international system. It can be argued that the military capacities were almost equally distributed among at least four actors, namely Britain, France, Germany and the United States before the Great War.

DIPLOMACY IN THE 'OLD WORLD': FROM ANCIENT TIMES TO RENAISSANCE

Understanding the circumstances that paved the way for transition to permanent diplomacy requires a quick look at the context of the diplomatic practices before the emergence of permanent diplomatic institutions. Although contemporary diplomacy is considered as a practice of centralized modern state units, interactions resembling to today's diplomatic practices had existed between ancient states and state-like formations. The "Old World" did have states, state-like entities and more localized authorities which interact with each other. In this sense, treaties, negotiations, correspondence between authorities were registered by historians (even archeologists) and those registries have been subject to diplomatic history research. Today we have enough evidence to propose a projection for what ancient form of diplomacy was like. On that sense, two main characteristics of the diplomacy in ancient times can be noted. First, ancient diplomatic practices were not operated through permanent institutions. Second, the diplomatic interactions were not constant and institutionalized; rather they were characterized by intermittency (Hamilton and Langhorne, 2011: 7).

The term "Old World" here refers to a period of time starting from ancient world to emergence of Renaissance especially in Italian peninsula. The political authorities of the "Old World" were far from being as organized as modern state structures. The main difference between ancient states and modern state structures was lying in the capacity of centralization. The ancient states in the "Old World" were mainly constituted of some local authorities which control a piece of land militarily and economically. These local authorities were brought together under more general state structures borders of which reach out broader territories. Although they resemble medieval empires in terms of their organization, these states lacked the permanent institutions, mainly built upon decentralized structures, and their borders were not very well-defined. What we call "ancient diplomacy" today took place both within and among these states of the "Old World". The diplomatic practices within an ancient state took place among the local authorities such as feudal

lords, chieftains and tribal leaders. These practices vary from mutual visits to trade and security related agreements between them. Although we consider these practices as the forerunners of diplomacy in the ancient world, it should be noted that they were not operated through institutionalized structures. For instance, one of the main principles of modern diplomacy, *pacta sunt servanda*, did not exist as an ordering principle of the interaction among these local authorities. Therefore, the agreement between two local authorities were being interrupted or even abolished when one of the local rulers passed away or the ruling family changed. The interaction among broader state structures were, on the other hand, built upon somehow more organized structures. An agreement between two states of the "Old World" could easily last and be honored for several centuries. It was also a common practice to build monuments and monolith tablets to represent agreements and pacts between the great states of ancient world. Not only agreements, but also important visits exchanged between the rulers were immortalized through such monumental structures. Today, many ancient cities in Anatolia, for instance, still have the ruins of monuments that represent the outcome of such diplomatic exchanges.

Pacta sunt servanda

Pacta sunt servanda is a legal term in Latin, which refers to the continuity of agreements between parties and bindingness of the clauses for both parties regardless of a change of a government or ruler. It is one of the ordering principles of modern international law and diplomacy. For more information, see Wehberg, (1959).

As noted above, the main subject matters of the ancient diplomacy were about the general principles of trade and ascendancy talks. For the former, the security of the trade paths were guaranteed through such diplomatic talks among the city states and local authorities. Such interaction among the city states set the principles of trade and assured the security of merchant caravans. Ascendancy related diplomatic practices focused mainly on the political unity formed by

those city states. Within the political context of the “Old World”, the diplomatic interactions related with ascendancy were shaped mainly on the basis of material capacities. Materially stronger party claimed the ascendancy over smaller city state and state-like authorities. Broader state structures, then, were being established as result of such diplomatic interactions in which stronger party imposed its clauses to the smaller authorities. The diplomacy, in this sense, was used as a tool of expanding borders by the stronger parties. Smaller powers, on the other hand, saw diplomacy as an instrument of survival by avoiding violent conflict with the great powers of the time (Black, 2010: 22).

It should be, at this point, noted that transition to permanent diplomatic institutions, emergence of professional diplomats and institutionalization of the current diplomatic practices mainly originate from the European interstate customs and precedents. Yet, it would be flawed to neglect the fact that European practices were also influenced from the interactions with states and suzerainties surrounding Europe. For instance, the diplomatic records found carved on clay tablets in the Near East and Mesopotamia reveal that the alliance systems were in fact established among pre-modern Mesopotamian civilizations through the concept of “brotherhood”. (Black, 2010: 19). The reference to a counterpart ruler as brother manifested an alliance resembling to modern military and political alliances between modern state structures, which is considered as one of the main signals of the emergence of modern diplomacy. Another example can be given from the ‘faith-based diplomacy’ (Cox and Philpott 2003) between civilizations and political units of the Near East. A diplomatic letter (usually sent as carved upon clay tablets) for religious invitation of another political unit to a religion signaled an alliance that would last longer, which could be considered as the forerunner of European type collective security systems. Such alliances that were established through fait-based diplomacy did last much longer compared to alliances provided by a positive relationship between two rulers.

Ancient Greek civilization can be considered as the first political context that left certain reliable and copious evidence for a diplomatic system that emerged among equal counterparts and inherited by the later European political units as the custom

of diplomacy (Hamilton and Langhorne, 2011: 14). Collectivity of small city-states, connectivity of them through trade paths and sea routes and the custom about sharing the internal waters (such as rivers) provided a diplomatic rules and norms quite similar to modern practices of diplomacy. Likewise, the collectivity of suzerainties under the umbrella of Roman Empire should be noted as a major element that constituted the historical background of the permanent diplomacy. The extent and longevity of the Roman Empire contributed significantly especially to the legal setting of the modern diplomacy. The main contribution of the Roman Empire was its legal efforts to determine what is internal and what is external (Hamilton and Langhorne, 2011: 17). In other words, the concept of border was mainly institutionalized and legalized through the efforts of Roman Empire system to determine the territories of its equal suzerainties.

The medieval world also prepared the political context for transition to permanent diplomacy. Drastic fragmentation of the Europe especially after the fall of Rome accelerated conflicts as quite well as diplomatic interactions among the political entities in Europe. When we consider that modern diplomacy’s major achievement is to create a form of interstates society in which a sense of collective identity is built, the medieval Europe can be noted as a political context in which such a collective identity burgeoned. “There were wars, doctrinal disputes, the Great Schism, the division between Pope and Emperor, eruptions of class war, but through it all, there continued to be ‘a belief in the actual unity of Christendom, however variously felt and expressed’ which was a fundamental condition of all medieval political thought and activity.” (Hamilton and Langhorne, 2011: 32; Mattingly, 1955: 18-19). *Respublica Christiana* was how this collective identity called, although it never turned into an acquired state structure. Within the context of *Respublica Christiana*, diplomatic contacts between the political entities were quite structured, organized and also were built upon a common custom that were adopted from the past experiences mentioned above. Most significant and novel concept of medieval Europe is the term *nuncius*. A nuncius is the person in charge who is appointed by the ruler as the voice of the principal in another political entity. In other

words, a nuncius is an early example of resident ambassadors in modern diplomacy. In fact, the nuncius was considered as a living letter of the principal written for a counterpart (Hamilton and Langhorne, 2011: 34.) All in all, the signals of the resident ambassadors, considered as an element of modern permanent diplomacy, were first detected in the diplomatic practices of medieval world in the form of a nuncius. The clear signals of transition to permanent institutions and professional diplomats were, however, seen mainly in the Italian city states during the Renaissance.



Figure 3.1 Íñigo López de Mendoza y Zúñiga, Mendoza was a Castilian clergyman and diplomat in the service of Emperor Charles V (ruler of both the Spanish Empire and the Holy Roman Empire) who appointed him ambassador to the English court in 1526.

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%C3%8D%C3%B1igo_L%C3%B3pez_de_Mendoza_y_Z%C3%BA%C3%B1iga



your turn ¹

Discuss the main subject matters of the ancient diplomacy

ITALIAN CITY STATES AND RENAISSANCE DIPLOMACY



Figure 3.2 Italian City State – Florence,

Source: <http://www.medievalists.net/2013/07/the-territorial-strategy-of-the-italian-city-state/>

Italian peninsula was home to certain developments that impacted the whole European political context especially in the 15th and 16th centuries. Began in Florence in the 14th century, the period called Renaissance contributed to the developments not only in art, philosophy and science, but also in the conduct of diplomacy. Although the Renaissance encompasses the developments from the 14th to 17th centuries, the developments that contributed to the diplomatic customs mainly took place in the late 15th century and the 16th century (Black 2010). Italian peninsula has come to forward, in this sense, as a region where diplomatic interactions among political units intensified and were conducted in accordance with certain agreed patterns. The political structure of the Italian peninsula was quite fragmented and it was not under the ascendancy of single political union. Italian peninsula was rather composed of smaller city states which were organized as distinct principalities.

It can be asked why in the Renaissance Italy, but not somewhere else, did the early institutions of modern democracy emerge. Three important factors can be noted. Firstly, the political equation among small Italian city states facilitated the consolidation of diplomacy as a preferred tool for solution of the problems in the Peninsula. Italian city states were in fact feudal units controlled by certain dynasties. In other words, each city state was actually the piece of land that was held by a certain noble aristocrat family. Within such a politically

fragmented context, the term between the early 14th and middle 15th centuries were quite troublesome for the Peninsula. The disputes over land and resources dragged the Peninsula to a conflictual environment in which a constant state of war was dominant. After long lasting fights, Peace of Lodi in 1454 brought a certain degree of peace and stability to the region (Mattingly, 1955: 77). Most noteworthy aspect of Peace of Lodi was that it institutionalized the functional equality among Italian city states. In other words, regardless of their size, power and location, Italian city states came to a consensus in which they are all treated and assumed equivalent to each other. At this point, it should be noted that the principle of functional equality can be considered as the main constituting element of modern diplomacy. In fact, diplomatic interaction between two political entities only started after the mutual acceptance of equivalency by both parties in the medieval and Renaissance Europe. In this regard, the institutionalization of equality through Peace of Lodi accelerated the emergence of diplomatic customs as a legitimate practice in Italian Peninsula.

Secondly, the common language that is shared by all these small city states served as another facilitator for diplomatic progress in the region. Despite the lack of a political unity among the city states, there was a linguistic unity among them. Italian, being the *lingua franca* in the Peninsula, was accepted as the common language for any form of correspondence among the city states. This became an asset for the facilitation of dialogue and prepared

the ground for diplomatic interactions to become an effective tool in the interstate affairs (Mowat, 1928: 6). Thirdly, the small scale political organization due to over-fragmented political structure in the Peninsula rendered some other coercive political tools such as war much more costly and ineffective. Italian city states were quite small in terms of their size and capacities. In fact, some of them were not bigger than a sum of a few adjacent villages. Accordingly, military powers of such small units were also limited. The military capacities of minor city states with limited economic sources relied mainly on the man power of their own serfs. Relatively bigger powers such as Florence and Naples (present time Napoli), relied rather on mercenaries gathered from Francophone principalities and Switzerland. Therefore, Italian city states came to understand that military methods were neither effective nor making economic sense for holding a piece of land and solving the political disputes. On the contrary, military methods were triggering further resentments and causing much greater military expenditures in the middle run. Therefore, a common willingness and consensus emerged among Italian city states to solve their disputes through diplomatic interactions instead of military methods. All these things combined paved the way for institutionalization of diplomacy in a much deeper and organized manner in Italian Peninsula compared to elsewhere in Europe.

The content of diplomatic practice in the Renaissance Italy was also a facilitator for transition to permanent diplomacy. As elaborated earlier, diplomatic practices and interaction did exist among political entities even in ancient times elsewhere in the world. Yet, the content of these diplomatic practices were far from being a model for modern diplomatic customs. The biggest obstacle for cultivation of a systematic diplomatic custom was, of course, the issue of continuity. Diplomatic interactions of the ancient world were built upon quite an intermittent structure and shaped in an issue-specific manner. They did play a role in the formation of customs in the field of trade and crystallization of the borders. Yet, the modern diplomacy, which required continuity and constant contact, emerged in the Renaissance Italy. The content



Figure 3.3

Source: <http://slideplayer.com/slide/7272711/>

of the diplomatic practices in the Renaissance Italy focused mainly on long term alliances, customs union, and defense against the intervention that would potentially come from non-Italian Europe. Such issues constituted the content of the diplomatic talks among Italian city states constantly. Machiavelli's famous and influential book, *Prince*, can be considered as a great guideline to understand how the Renaissance Italy institutionalized such diplomatic practices in a manner that would set the ground for transition to permanent diplomacy. The very notion of "national interest" was suggested as the only and foremost priority of statehood and noted as the ultimate goal of conducting diplomacy, a principle which has been dominating the modern states system for centuries. Machiavelli also noted that constant correspondence with the envoys sent to other countries is essential for achieving the goal of a mighty and steady state structure.

In accordance with the aim of keeping constant correspondence, we see that Italian city states were first to invent the very notion of a resident ambassador. Envoys were sent to foreign countries before Italian city states indeed. Yet, they were usually sent on a specific quest or to deliver a letter from the principal to its counterpart. Italian city states in the Renaissance, on the other hand, institutionalized the practice of having a resident ambassador in other states. The exchange of resident ambassadors first started among the Italian-speaking political entities (Adams and Cox, 2011: 7). A resident ambassador was considered as someone in charge who has the capacity and power to speak on behalf of its state in the hosting country. Therefore, these resident ambassadors were trained for some years in politics, philosophy and other fields (such as mathematics and certain fields of science) before they were sent as envoys to other countries. Residents ambassadors were not only sent to the city states of the Italian peninsula but they were also sent to non-Italian states as well. Hamilton and Langhorne (2011: 41) notes that the *baiulo* of that was sent to Constantinople by Venetians should be considered as the first resident ambassador that was sent outside of the Italian city states context. He was certainly a permanent representative of Venetia who acted in a quite similar manner to a modern consul. Major difference between modern ambassadors and resident ambassadors of the Renaissance was that usually the resident ambassadors of Renaissance were sent to a country for a lifetime, whereas modern diplomats are rather appointed for a limited time and could be appointed several times to different countries. This lifetime appointment of the resident ambassadors in Renaissance also caused certain problems such as losing the contact with the home country after quite some time in the host country. The resident ambassadors sometimes internalized the country of appointment after a significant time of stay, and this caused weakening of the ties with the home country in some cases. Born in the Renaissance Italian Peninsula, these diplomatic practices started to spread sporadically to the rest of Europe.



your turn ²

Discuss the relationship between political context of the Italian peninsula and emergence of certain diplomatic practices in this region.

OLD DIPLOMACY

Many diplomatic practices that interactions among Italian city states revealed were also copied later in other regions of Europe. The emergence of modern centralized states has been the most significant factor that triggered a need for transition to more continuous, organized and constant conduct of diplomacy for European states. The custom that emerged in the Italian Peninsula during the Renaissance were spread and later institutionalized in the rest of the Europe mainly after the Peace of Westphalia. Considering that Peace of Lodi enabled the Italian city states to act on an equal basis, the Peace of Westphalia signed in 1648 served the same purpose on a larger scale in a manner to include primary actors of Europe.

Peace of Westphalia

The Peace of Westphalia is signed in 1648 after 30 Years' Wars between protestant and catholic German principalities. There is a consensus that the Peace of Westphalia introduced the modern notion of sovereignty to interstate relations, therefore, is accepted as the beginning of the modern state system. It established the functional equality among German principalities regardless of their religious/sectarian orientation, size and power.

Thirty Years' Wars, which settled through the Peace of Westphalia, was mainly a fight over the status of the principalities from different Christian sectarian backgrounds. The demand of Protestant German-speaking principalities for being treated equal and legitimate by Catholic principalities were met with the Peace of Westphalia. In this regard, the Peace of Westphalia prepared a political ground in which all German-speaking principalities were accepted as functionally equal to each other regardless of their sectarian orientations (Kissinger, 1994; Gross, 1993; Watson, 1992). As noted above, equality between parties has always been a prerequisite for an active diplomatic contact. Thus, the Peace of Westphalia did not only start the process of emergence of modern state system, but also accelerated and facilitated the transition to permanent diplomatic institutions in Western and Northern Europe.

With the Peace of Westphalia, German principalities institutionalized the notion of resident ambassador just like Italian city states did in the 16th century. In the beginning, most of the principals sent their envoys to Brandenburg-Prussia and other great powers in the German world. In the longer run, keeping a permanent diplomatic mission in other countries spread all over German principalities. Principals preferred to have resident diplomatic missions mostly in farer principalities, as closer or neighboring principalities were accessible through short trips.

The British also copied and internalized these diplomatic customs. British envoys were sent to the states of the continental Europe mainly after the Peace of Westphalia. Britain, being one of the actors in the peace talks, did not withdraw its committee from Münster and Osnabrück, two German-speaking cities where peace talks took place, and distributed this team later to Sweden, France, Brandenburg-Prussia and Denmark. Although several British diplomatic missions were sent to other countries earlier, resident ambassadors in European countries became a British diplomatic custom mainly after 1648.

France can be noted as one exception to this. Although France did have envoys and resident diplomatic missions in several countries as early as the beginnings of 16th century, it did not follow the general European fashion to build resident and

constant diplomatic missions in European capitals. Yet, France has come forward as the country which kept most active contact with the Muslim world. French envoys were sent to Ottoman Empire in 1535 and Safavid Empire (present day Iran) in 1600s (Black, 2010: 54). Still, France was late to institutionalize the resident ambassadors compared to other primary European powers. Yet, it is also worthy to note that once the French developed their own diplomatic system, it was admired by other European states as it was first fully-developed system of diplomacy (Berridge, 2010: 103).

Two important diplomatic practices also turned into a general diplomatic practice in this term. Firstly, diplomatic immunity was recognized by all parties in Europe as a general principle of diplomacy. In this regard, immunity was guaranteed multilaterally to assure the credibility and authenticity of the information delivered by the envoys. In other words, the immunity granted to the diplomats and envoys aimed at making the diplomatic crew feel comfortable so that they would not manipulate the message to be delivered in order to guarantee their own security. This diplomatic custom was later institutionalized and legalized in 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, yet it remained as a respected principle mainly after the middle 17th century. Secondly, arrival of a new diplomatic mission to a capital started to be welcomed ceremonially by the host country. Today's 'agrément' ceremonies originate from these ceremonies which became a fashion of early 18th century in Europe.

Diplomatic Immunity

Diplomatic immunity is a universal principle of modern diplomacy which refers to legal immunity of diplomats and diplomatic missions. According to diplomatic immunity principle, diplomats are not susceptible to lawsuits and diplomatic missions such that embassies are immune from the intervention of the host country. Diplomatic immunity has been an important custom in the transition to permanent diplomacy.



your turn ³

Discuss the important diplomatic practices in terms of the Peace of Westphalia is signed in 1648 after 30 Years' Wars.

TRANSITION TO PERMANENT DIPLOMACY



Figure 3.4 Embassy of the United States of America in Ljubljana, Slovenia

Source: <https://www.istockphoto.com/tr/fotoğraf/embassy-of-the-united-states-of-america-in-ljubljana-gm491921312-76024483>

So-called “Old Diplomacy” presented a diplomatic practice in which permanent institutions and customs of diplomacy started to crystalize and consolidate. In this regard, the period after the Peace of Westphalia was a term that opened the door for a transition to permanent diplomacy. Yet, the consolidation of the permanent practices and customs was mainly achieved after Congress of Vienna in 1814-1815 (Kissinger, 2014: 60). On that sense, the Napoleonic Wars played quite a significant role for European political elites to think deeper about the diplomatic practices. To understand the relationship between the political developments after Napoleonic Wars and diplomatic practices, a quick review of the period is necessary.

After the French Revolution of 1789, France turned into a constitutional monarchy in which the King was balanced and limited by the *Etats-Generaux*. Yet, the turmoil continued in the post-revolution term, and eventually monarchy was abolished completely and replaced with the First Republic. Napoleon Bonaparte came forward as a charismatic figure in the French politics and became the president of the Republic. Yet, he abolished the Republic and declared himself as the Emperor. These developments in the French domestic politics disquieted the monarchs of the Europe deeply as Napoleon put a solid challenge to the very idea of conservative European monarchies. It could be seen ironic that Napoleon himself abolished the Republic and turned himself into a monarch, yet he imposed nationalist republics in the states that he controlled through Napoleonic Wars. In other words, Napoleon appeared as the distributor of two very dangerous ideologies throughout the Europe: republicanism and nationalism. The former is dangerous because it poses a challenge to the very idea of monarchy, in fact, it is the anti-thesis of monarchy. The latter is dangerous because almost all European monarchies were relying on multi-national empires and the nationalist ideology would mean the dissolution of these multi-national empires, which later caused so. After defeating Napoleon following long-lasting and bloody wars, European monarchs gathered in Vienna to discuss the conditions for restoration of monarchy in France and setting the new balance of power. Political implications of the Congress of Vienna are plenty and important, but here we focus mainly on the effects of the Congress on the diplomatic institutions.

Firstly, the Congress set the idea of “balance of power” as a steady diplomatic priority for European monarchs (Kissinger, 1994: 325). European monarchs aimed at constructing a diplomatic context in which all actors react similarly and in a coordinated manner in case of an attempt by any other power to dominate European neighbors. In this sense, the Congress determined the content of the new diplomatic context in Europe, and this content put balance of power before any other agenda items. This can be considered as a collective security umbrella for the European states system. Hence, it is fair to argue that the Congress of Vienna introduced collective security conceptions

into the agenda of diplomacy, which continued to be one of the most important agenda items in European diplomacy in the following centuries as well. Secondly, the Congress of Vienna enclaved diplomacy into a conservative sphere. In fact, the Concert of Europe that came out of the Congress was quite a conservative order in the sense that it relied on the absolute preservation of monarchies all around Europe. European diplomacy and permanent diplomatic missions agreed on that European states should be ruled with monarchies and legitimacy of these political systems does not need a popular vote. In this regard, European diplomatic machinery aimed at preservation of this system and act collaboratively against any challenge to monarchies.

After the Congress of Vienna, permanent diplomacy was a model followed by all European powers including Ottoman Empire. All European states started to establish their own domestic machineries for the institutionalization and continuity of the diplomatic practices. Three main important developments can be noted for the full transition to permanent diplomacy: professionalization and recruitment, administrative structuration and emergence of ministries.

Professionalization and Recruitment

As mentioned above, the institutions of the permanent diplomacy started to emerge mainly after the Peace of Westphalia. The period after the Congress of Vienna, however, was the term in which diplomacy appeared as a distinct subject-field and diplomatic career become a specific profession. In this sense, professionalization of the diplomatic career should be considered as one of the main cornerstones in the transition to permanent diplomacy.

Before the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the diplomatic missions and envoys sent to other countries were expected to be accommodated and funded by the host state (Hamilton and Langhorne, 2011: 61). Yet, this was quite problematic for the country of origin in terms of having a trustworthy relationship with their own envoys. As noted earlier, in some cases the envoys lost their contact with the home country and internalized the identity of the host country after some years of stay. Therefore,

professionalization of the diplomatic civil servants appeared as a necessity for the continuity and reliability of the diplomatic contact. To this aim, European states followed a threefold strategy.

Firstly, they allocated generous budgets for the accommodation and expenses of the diplomatic missions sent to other countries. By the end of the first half of the 1800s, all European states were funding their own diplomatic missions in other capitals of Europe. One exception to this was the Ottoman Empire, as it continued to pay some sort of allowance for foreign diplomatic missions in Istanbul (Yurdusev, 2004: 5-35). “The regularity of payment and level of salary both improved, though the significance of the latter was partly offset both by inflation and by the increased activities of the resident” (Hamilton and Langhorne, 2011: 63). With this new fashion in Europe, the financial difficulties that ambassadors and diplomatic missions suffer from were overcome. Furthermore, the diplomatic profession started to be seen as a guarantee for higher standards of life. Towards the end of the 19th century, many diplomatic missions were seen as living a flamboyant life by other civil servants working in other institutions of the state machinery. Yet, the financial guarantee provided by governments to their diplomatic missions helped consolidation of diplomacy as a permanent and structured practice to a great deal.

Secondly, the recruitment process was also professionalized in the post-Congress of Vienna term in many European states. In the 18th century, envoys, ambassadors and accompanying crew were selected from experienced and reliable civil servants closer to the ruler. In other words, the personal relationship between the ambassador and the ruler was seen as the necessary credit for being appointed in charge of conducting diplomacy with another state. With the wave of professionalization, diplomacy started to be acknowledged as a distinct expertise. With this approach, recruitment of the diplomatic staff was also reconsidered. States came to understand that a strong relationship between the palace and the civil servant is not enough for a skillful diplomat. Therefore, a specific recruitment for diplomatic missions started to take place first in France, later in Habsburgs and Britain. After the recruitment, the diplomatic staff were also subject to additional training. Some training were provided to senior and experienced staff such as

ambassadors for them to be able to recruit their own staff such as administrative attachés. Having a secretariat in the embassy building became a general trend in Europe, and ambassadors were rendered fully in charge for determining the administrative personnel. Expansion of the diplomatic missions also required a deeper and better planned training curriculum, which was developed later and included modules varying from general rules of manners to diplomatic correspondence techniques. Besides, language courses were also provided to newly appointed diplomatic staff.

Thirdly, as different from the 18th century resident ambassadors, the ambassadors of permanent diplomacy in the 19th century were not only seen as the envoys of their ruler. They were also authorized to develop instant policies as a reaction to sudden developments and crisis situations. This should be noted as one of the major novelties of modern diplomacy as it represents a decisive departure from previous *nuncius*-like ambassadors and diplomats. In the former version, ambassadors were fully bound with the pre-defined tasks that the government assigned to them. They were not in a position to develop strategies or policies instantly and independently. The resident ambassadors of the 19th century did sometimes take initiatives to develop instant policies under limited time and communication circumstances. It should not be understood as fully maverick ambassadors that invent new policies regardless of their government policy. Rather, this is a novelty that enabled ambassadors act in a creative and constructive manner when an undefined situation occurred.

Administrative Structuration and Hierarchy

Another important cornerstone in the transition to a fully modern and organized diplomacy was to define the posts, hierarchy and structure within an embassy. There was no confusion about the head of the diplomatic mission in a country. Obviously, the highest post in charge was the ambassador. Yet, other members of the crew did have conflicts due to confusions about posts, positions and their assigned duties. The blurred lines of duties and lack of hierarchy created certain problems.

“For a time, a common way of relieving the problem was to delegate powerful activities into the hands not of constitutionally appointed and circumscribed ministers, but of temporary favorites. The effect was to blur the lines of responsibility in diplomacy and foreign policy as much as in any other area of government, and to expose ambassadors to great difficulties and frequent humiliations, as the power struggle, or sometimes power vacuum, at home produced conflicting policies derived from several sources.” (Hamilton and Langhorne, 2011: 65).

Another difficulty arising from the lack of clearly defined posts and hierarchies was the issue of espionage. The paper work and archival documents of the embassy were exposed to the access of any staff member in the embassy, which caused espionage in some cases. There was no clear distinction between those who are responsible for diplomatic correspondence and those who are responsible for the daily routines of the embassy. It was also not clear who reports to whom, under what authority and scope. As early as the beginning of the 1800s, this issue was noticed by many governments in Europe, so that they started to define the hierarchy and specific posts within an embassy. According to this hierarchy, the ambassador was set as the head of the diplomatic mission, whereas the envoys came second in the hierarchical order after the ambassador. In relatively bigger missions, consuls reported to envoys.

Another important clarification was about the assigned duties of the embassy staff. The classical distinction between administrative staff and career diplomats was made in middle 1800s. According to this distinction, administrative staff were not allowed to read the diplomatic correspondence, encrypted messages and policy documents of the embassy. Career diplomats including the ambassador, the envoy, the second secretary and the consul and specifically assigned less senior career diplomats were determined as only authorized personnel to conduct diplomacy and access the necessary documents. This distinction between administrative and career diplomats is still followed in almost all departments of foreign affairs in all around the world. It should also be noted that attachés were not considered within the hierarchy of the embassy, as they are appointed as the representatives of other

departments within the government to diplomatic missions, though it was a common practice that they reported to the ambassador. Since then, the post of attaché appeared as an essential post within permanent diplomatic institutions.

Emergence of Ministries of Foreign Affairs

Today, almost all the states in the world have a specific ministry in charge of determining and conducting foreign policy. Yet, this was not the in case. Modern foreign ministries originated mainly from European states, and it has not been even 250 years that the first foreign ministry was founded under government structure (Berridge, 2010: 5). As diplomacy was professionalized and acknowledged as a field which requires special expertise and training, the states of Europe also recognized the need for a specific ministry under the government which is solely responsible from the conduct of foreign policy. France was again the first country which initiated a specific department responsible from the foreign policy. In *Ancien Régime*, Henry III initiated a department and gave the sole responsibility in foreign policy to a specific department under the government as early as 1589 (Berridge, 2010: 6). Yet, it should be noted that this department was far from a ministerial structure compared to modern ministries of foreign affairs. In fact, religious affairs were the dominant theme in the agenda of this department, as it was in contact mainly with the authorities in Vatican. In fact, almost all of the personnel working in this department were coming from a clergy background. Famous Cardinal Richelieu made certain reforms in 1630s to restructure this department in a more organized manner. However, the emergence of a ministry as a modern department of foreign affairs had to wait until the overthrow of the *Ancien Régime*. Still, France was earlier than other European states to initiate a ministry whose sole responsibility was to conduct foreign policy.

Ancien Régime

This is a French term that refers to the corrupted traditional monarchy in France before the French Revolution.

Other European states did follow France and they started to open such ministries one by one, though each of these ministries were organized under different titles and through different models. It was toward the end of the 19th century that these ministries developed into more sophisticated organizations and recognized by other states as an agent of foreign policy. In the beginning, most of these organs were organized into specific administrative units and regional focuses. In the case of Britain, for instance, it was initiated as an undersecretary whose responsibility was no more than an organ that provided the correspondence (Steiner 1982). As time wore on, these organs also acquired policy making functions.

Different titles for this organ were used in different countries. In the case of the United States, for instance, the very first ministry responsible from foreign policy was the 'Department of Foreign Affairs, which was established by the Congress in January 1781. Yet, the American case represents an interesting one, as the Department was given certain domestic duties as well by the end of 1780s. In 1789, the Department was given the duty of keeping the Great Seal of the United States and conducting the census. Therefore, the title of the department was changed to 'Department of State', which is a broader title (Berridge, 2010: 7). In the longer run, the duty of the Department of State became more specific again and focused only on foreign policy. Yet, American version of foreign ministry still uses this title today.

What were the duties of these specific ministries of foreign affairs? Although this had varied from case to case, within the political context of early 20th century, the tasks of foreign ministries started to become alike in many examples of the world. Firstly, policy making mission was given to this ministry. Based on the political system, these ministries served under the executive organs of their governments and executed the foreign policy of their respective countries. It can be argued that foreign ministries remained more autonomous in the European countries, most of which relied on parliamentary systems, whereas American Department of States were more bound to the presidential influence, as it was modeled on a strong presidential system. This could be considered as why many American presidents are remembered today with their specific foreign policy doctrines, which

were internalized and followed by the Department. (Monroe Doctrine, Eisenhower Doctrine, Wilson Doctrine etc.). Secondly, these ministries were also given the task of staffing and supporting the missions abroad. As touched upon earlier, as the recruitment process became more specific as diplomats were professionalized, these ministries also became prominent organs responsible for staffing and supporting the missions sent to other countries. Thirdly, they started to coordinated foreign relations especially after the Great War (WWI). In relatively optimistic environment of the WWI, the diplomacy was credited much more than coercive methods thanks to the efforts of American president Woodrow Wilson. In such a context, in accordance with Wilson's principle on open diplomacy, foreign ministries were rendered as the only responsible organs for conducting and coordinating the relations with other countries, instead of secret initiatives of leaders and military figures. Fourthly, dealing with foreign diplomats hosted in the home country was also assigned to these ministries. Last but not least, especially after the Second World War, foreign ministries were also assigned the duty of building and getting the support of domestic and international public. In this respect, public diplomacy has come into prominence over the last few decades as a major duty of many ministries of foreign affairs in the world.

Finally, it should be noted that these ministries may use different titles in different countries. For example, Australian version includes the term 'trade', and uses 'Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, while Belgian version has even a broader title: 'Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade and Development Aid.' A simple title of 'Ministry of Foreign Affairs' is used by many countries such as Turkey, Italy, Japan, China, whereas more specific titles were also adapted by some other countries like Senegalese ministry, 'Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the African Union and Senegalese Abroad', like South African version, 'Department of International Relations and Cooperation'.



Figure 3.5 The building of the Ministry of foreign Affairs of Russia, Smolensk Square in Moscow.

Source: <https://www.istockphoto.com/tr/fotoğraf/the-building-of-the-ministry-of-foreign-affairs-of-russia-gm511031912-86497591>



your turn ⁴

Discuss the emergence of ministries of foreign affairs in France.

NEW DIPLOMACY

What is referred as "new diplomacy" in this chapter does not refer to a complete new paradigm of the conduct of diplomacy; rather it aims to emphasize certain new attachments to diplomatic practice which mainly emerged with the post-Cold War term. Thus, it is necessary to take a quick snapshot of newly rising trends in permanent diplomacy. The end of the Cold War did not only change the structure of world politics, it also opened the so-called Pandora's Box of new actors, new strategies and reconsidered conceptions of diplomacy. The Cold War context had created a political environment in which security concerns dominated every other aspects of the social and political agenda. In such a hard security atmosphere, states have come forward as not only primary but also mere actors of the international politics. Thusly, diplomacy was understood as a practice in which states correspond with one another. In fact, even

diplomats and leaders were considered as “selfless” (Jervis, 1998: 989), because they were the agents of states and act upon states’ specific agenda. Yet, the end of the Cold war gradually eased the hard security concerns of states and opened a space for new actors to get involved in diplomatic practice.

As noted above, it would be an exaggeration to argue that the major principles of permanent diplomacy changed due to the end of the Cold War. Yet, it would also be flawed to neglect the fact that certain significant developments gained momentum. Firstly, the nature of foreign policy shifted from a pure state-centric to a more multi-actor and multi-factorial ground. Neack (2008) calls this new form of foreign policy as “new foreign policy” and argues that new foreign policy has the characteristics mentioned below:

- “Foreign policy is made and conducted in complex domestic and international environments.
- Foreign policy results from the work of coalitions of interested domestic and international actors and groups.
- Foreign policy issues are often linked and delinked, reflecting the strength of various parties and their particular concerns.
- The “stuff” of foreign policy derives from issues of domestic politics as well as foreign relations.
- Foreign policy analysis needs to be multilevel and multifaceted in order to confront the complicated sources and nature of foreign policy.” (Neack, 2008: 6).

In accordance with this developments, new diplomacy also included the practices of certain interest groups, non-governmental organizations, transnational solidarity movements and even ordinary individuals. Especially with the introduction of the Internet, diplomacy is no longer considered as a practice that diplomats conduct, but all these abovementioned actors started to pursue their own agendas and take part in the game of diplomacy. Track II diplomacy,

meaning the diplomatic conduct run by non-state actors and influential non-diplomatic individuals, became a new diplomatic tool recognized by states as well.

Track II diplomacy

Track II diplomacy is a term that refers to non-conventional diplomacy conducted by not only diplomatic crews, but also by influential individuals (such as artists, authors or celebrities). Track II diplomatic practices usually take place during mediation efforts, formation of peace missions and campaign for more universal causes instead of a political agenda of a specific state. In other words, Track II diplomacy is a non-official effort to facilitate the official diplomatic context towards a cooperative solution. For more information, see Agha et. Al. 2003; Chataway 1998. Homans 2011).

Secondly, states also noted these changes in the nature of the diplomacy and they also developed new strategies to address the new necessities of international politics. Amongst others, public diplomacy has come forward as a new and steady institution within the permanent machineries of diplomacy. Many states initiated the public diplomacy departments under their governments to address to peoples instead of other governments. In other words, transition to permanent diplomacy did not finish the evolution of diplomacy, on the contrary, permanent diplomacy has been continuing to evolve in accordance with the newly emerging circumstance of political world.



your turn ⁵

Discuss the Track II Diplomacy.

In Practice Wikileaks and Diplomatic Immunity

New technologies, scientific advancements and computer technologies were also adapted by the diplomatic institutions since 1960s. Today, mathematical models, encryption techniques and enciphering methods are used to protect the secrecy of the diplomatic correspondence. The world politics, yet, was shaken with the leaking of top secret diplomatic documents in 2010, which revealed more than one hundred thousand diplomatic correspondence and exposed these documents to public access. Wikileaks, which is organized as a civil society movement, was the organization that circulated these documentation and Julian Assange was recognized as the spokesperson of this organization. Leaked documents revealed many inner top secret correspondence between diplomatic missions and their ministry of foreign affairs. For instance, the reports about civilian killings, several videos of 'collateral damage' and correspondence to put pressure on media organs were among leaked documents.

Although it was not related to the Wikileaks incident, Julian Assange was found guilty for sexual assault in a court case in Sweden in 2010. Although Assange denied the allegations, Swedish court issued a warrant of arrest for him. Assange was concerned that 'if he was arrested' he would be extradited to the United States for revealing secret documents of the American intelligence. Therefore, he took a refuge in Ecuador Embassy in London in 2012. Ecuador government granted asylum to Assange and he lives in the Embassy in London since then. This is a good case for showing how diplomatic immunity is a respected diplomatic practice and norm today. Today, embassy buildings, according to diplomatic immunity principle, are accepted as the territory of countries, hence, these buildings are immune from the intervention of the host countries. Assange cannot leave the embassy building, because the British police would arrest him as he leaves the embassy borders.

LO 1

Track the roots of modern diplomacy back to the period starting from ancient times to renaissance.

Transition to permanent diplomacy cannot be limited to the period when modern states systems were dominant. In fact, roots of the modern diplomacy can even trace back to ancient times. The diplomatic interactions among the political entities of the old world can be noted as the first signals of diplomatic practices. The term “Old World” here refers to a period of time starting from the ancient world to emergence of Renaissance especially in Italian peninsula. The political authorities of the “Old World” were far from being as organized as modern state structures. Yet, they have certain contacts with each other. Two important characteristics of the diplomatic interaction in the old world can be noted:

- Diplomatic contacts in the ancient world were not continuous; rather they were characterized by intermittency.
- Ancient diplomatic practices were not operated through permanent institutions. Rather, special envoys, soldiers or some individuals who had close relationship with the rulers were acting as the diplomats.

Due to lack of organization in the diplomacy and issue of intermittency, diplomatic practices of the ancient world were not shaped in accordance with accepted diplomatic patterns. Rather, they were issue-specific, sporadic and sometimes relied too much on personal relationship between the rulers.

LO 2

Examine the emergence of certain diplomatic practices such as resident embassies among Italian city states.

Italian peninsula was home to intense diplomatic interactions among the Italian city states during the Renaissance.

These interactions prepared the ground for emergence of certain elements of permanent diplomacy. Three important factors can be noted as the reasons for the emergence of such diplomatic interactions ‘specifically in Italian peninsula’ earlier than any other regions. Firstly, the political equation among small Italian city states facilitated the consolidation of diplomacy as a preferred tool for solution of the problems in the Peninsula. Italian city states were in fact feudal units controlled by certain dynasties. In other words, each city state was actually the piece of land that was held by a certain noble aristocrat family. Peace of Lodi in 1454 brought a certain degree of peace and stability to the region and set all Italian city states functionally equal to each other. This equity among these states facilitated the diplomatic interactions among them. Secondly, the common language that is shared by all these small city states served as another facilitator for diplomatic progress in the region. Thirdly, due to the small armies and limited economic resources, diplomacy appeared as a more viable tool compared to war.

We see that Italian city states were also first to invent the very notion of a resident ambassador. Italian city states in the Renaissance institutionalized the practice of having a resident ambassador in other states. The exchange of resident ambassadors first started among the Italian-speaking political entities. A resident ambassador was considered as someone in charge who has the capacity and power to speak on behalf of its state in the hosting country. These ambassadors were also sent to non-Italian states later.

LO 3

Note the main aspects of diplomatic practices between Peace of Westphalia and Vienna Congress

The period between Peace of Westphalia (1648) and the Congress of Vienna (1814, 1815) is the time frame the so-called 'Old Diplomacy' practices took place. Transition to permanent diplomatic institutions and customs gained momentum in the term of Old Diplomacy. In fact, sending resident ambassadors to other states were spread to whole Europe in this term. With the Peace of Westphalia, German principalities institutionalized the notion of resident ambassador just like Italian city states did in the 16th century. In the beginning, most of the principals sent their envoys to Brandenburg-Prussia and other great powers in the German world. In the longer run, keeping a permanent diplomatic mission in other countries spread all over German principalities.

The British also copied and internalized these diplomatic customs. British envoys were sent to the states of the continental Europe mainly after the Peace of Westphalia. Britain, being one of the actors in the peace talks, did not withdraw its committee from Münster and Osnabrück, two German-speaking cities where peace talks took place, and distributed this team later to Sweden, France, Brandenburg-Prussia and Denmark.

France has come forward as the country which kept most active contact with the Muslim world. French envoys were sent to the Ottoman Empire in 1535 and the Safavid Empire (present day Iran) in 1600s.

Diplomatic immunity was recognized by all parties in Europe as a general principle of diplomacy in this term. Besides, agrément ceremonies were institutionalized as a general practice.

LO 4

Examine the emergence of diplomatic missions and specific ministries of foreign affairs.

After the Congress of Vienna, transition to permanent institutions was fully in motion. The permanent diplomacy and modern diplomatic customs were institutionalized mainly after the Congress of Vienna. The Congress set the idea of "balance of power" as a steady diplomatic priority for European monarchs. The Congress determined the content of the new diplomatic context in Europe, and this content put balance of power before any other agenda items. This can be considered as a collective security umbrella for the European states system.

After the Congress of Vienna, permanent diplomacy was a model followed by all European powers including Ottoman Empire. All European states started to establish their own domestic machineries for the institutionalization and continuity of the diplomatic practices. Three main important developments can be noted for the full transition to permanent diplomacy: professionalization and recruitment, administrative structuration and emergence of ministries.

- Professionalization of the diplomatic mission: Diplomats were subject to special training. Besides, the recruitment process also changed in accordance with the professionalization of the diplomacy. Funding of the diplomatic crew abroad became the responsibility of the home country.
- Administrative structure: The hierarchy within the embassy was also defined in this term. Ambassadors were set as the chief in charge within an embassy. It is also this term in which a distinction between administrative staff and career diplomats was made.

Emergence of ministries: Many European states established the specific ministry whose sole responsibility was conducting foreign policy. In the continental Europe, France was the first country to establish a specific ministry. Later other countries followed France and they also initiated this ministry. Foreign ministries were responsible for making foreign policy, setting the foreign relations, coordinating the embassies abroad and dealing with the foreign diplomats hosted in the country.

LO 5

Categorizing the differing features of the contemporary diplomacy in late 20th and 21st centuries.

Especially in the post-Cold War era, diplomacy gained some new characteristics. Firstly, due to eased security concern, hard security was no longer the dominant theme of the diplomacy. Issues such as peacekeeping, peacebuilding and humanitarian aid became more prominent in multilateral diplomacy. Secondly, states were no longer the only actors of diplomacy. Some non-state actors such as NGOs, transnational solidarity movements and even ordinary individuals started to play a role in the composition of the diplomatic practices. Track II diplomacy was acknowledged also by states and governments developed policies to use track II diplomacy as an instrument.

1 What are the characteristics of diplomatic interactions in the ancient world?

- a. Ancient diplomacy is conducted through permanent institutions.
- b. Ancient diplomatic practices were intermittent and non-continuous.
- c. Diplomatic interactions in the ancient world rely on resident ambassadors.
- d. Diplomatic interactions in the ancient world were multilateral
- e. Ancient diplomatic practices promoted collective identity.

2 Which of the following is **not** a term that is relevant for the diplomatic interactions in the 'Old World'?

- a. Nuncius
- b. Respublica Christiana
- c. Brotherhood Diplomacy
- d. Faith-based Diplomacy
- e. Resident ambassadors

3 What characteristic of diplomacy relatively originated from the diplomatic interactions among Italian city states during the Renaissance?

- a. Functional equality among the parties.
- b. Having a specific ministry the whole responsibility of which is conducting and making foreign policy.
- c. Track II diplomatic actors.
- d. Clearly defined diplomatic hierarchy.
- e. Distinction between administrative and career diplomats.

4 Diplomatic interactions among the Italian city states were considered as one of the early examples of attempts to professionalize diplomacy and transition to permanent diplomacy. Which of the following can be considered as a major reason for the emergence of these attempts in the Italian Peninsula earlier than other regions of the World?

- a. Italian city states were more peaceful than the rest of the Europeans.
- b. Italian city states accepted the equivalency among each other and this facilitated the direct diplomatic contact between equal states.
- c. Italy was a state with a strong tradition of diplomacy.
- d. Other states were more inclined to war.
- e. The geography of Italy enabled states to conduct diplomacy.

5 Which of the following emerged as one of the cornerstones in the transition to permanent diplomacy mainly in the terms of 'Old Diplomacy'?

- a. Functional equality and modern sovereignty
- b. Ministries of Foreign Affairs
- c. Professionalization of diplomacy and diplomats
- d. Specific training curricula in diplomacy
- e. Congress diplomacy

6 In contemporary diplomacy, diplomatic immunity is one of the main principles that is accepted and respected universally. In which specific period did this principle emerge and was introduced to diplomacy?

- a. New Diplomacy period which emerged mainly after the Great War
- b. Ancient Diplomacy which took place mainly from ancient times to Italian Renaissance
- c. Renaissance period, specifically in Italy
- d. Post-Congress of Vienna Term
- e. Old Diplomacy period which specifically refers to period between the Peace of Westphalia and the Congress of Vienna

7 The diplomatic environment of Europe in the post-Vienna Congress was argued to be built on quite a conservative understanding. Which of the following can be considered as a reason for this conservatism in early permanent diplomacy?

- a. The diplomatic context focused mainly on preservation of traditional monarchies and balance of power.
- b. Diplomats of Europe in the 19th century were coming from a conservative background.
- c. Conservatism is embedded in the modern diplomacy.
- d. Diplomatic crews wanted to protect their own prestigious status in their respective states.
- e. European politics is conservative in its nature.

8 Which of the following was set as the chief of a diplomatic mission?

- a. Envoy
- b. Consul
- c. Minister
- d. Ambassador
- e. Attaché

9 Which European state was the first to establish a ministry of foreign affairs?

- a. Italy
- b. France
- c. Prussia
- d. Britain
- e. Austria-Hungary

10 Which of the following is a term that gained relevancy mainly in the late 20th and early 21st centuries?

- a. Resident ambassador
- b. Nuncius
- c. Track II diplomacy
- d. Congress diplomacy
- e. Secret diplomacy

1. b

If your answer is not B, revisit the part about diplomacy in the Ancient World.

6. e

If your answer is not E, revisit the part about Old Diplomacy that took part between the Peace of Westphalia and the Congress of Vienna.

2. e

If your answer is not E, revisit the part about diplomatic terms in the Ancient World.

7. a

If your answer is not A, revisit the part about transition to permanent diplomacy.

3. a

If your answer is not A, revisit the part about diplomacy in Italian city states.

8. d

If your answer is not D, revisit the part about the emergence of hierarchies in a diplomatic mission.

4. b

If your answer is not B, revisit the part about reasons for emergence of diplomatic interactions among Italian city states during the Renaissance.

9. b

If your answer is not B, revisit the part about emergence of foreign ministries.

5. a

If your answer is not A, revisit the part about Old Diplomacy.

10. c

If your answer is not C, revisit the part about New Diplomacy in the post-Cold War era.

Discuss the main subject matters of the ancient diplomacy

your turn 1

The main subject matters of the ancient diplomacy were about the general principles of trade and ascendancy talks. For the former, the security of the trade paths were guaranteed through such diplomatic talks among the city states and local authorities. Such interaction among the city states set the principles of trade and assured the security of merchant caravans. Ascendancy related diplomatic practices focused mainly on the political unity formed by those city states. Within the political context of the “Old World”, the diplomatic interactions related with ascendancy were shaped mainly on the basis of material capacities.

Discuss the relationship between political context of the Italian peninsula and emergence of certain diplomatic practices in this region.

your turn 2

Italian peninsula was home to certain developments that impacted the whole European political context especially in the 15th and 16th centuries. Began in Florence in the 14th century, the period called Renaissance contributed to the developments not only in art, philosophy and science, but also in the conduct of diplomacy. Although the Renaissance encompasses the developments from the 14th to 17th centuries, the developments that contributed to the diplomatic customs mainly took place in the late 15th century and the 16th century (Black 2010). Italian peninsula has come to forward, in this sense, as a region where diplomatic interactions among political units intensified and were conducted in accordance with certain agreed patterns. The political structure of the Italian peninsula was quite fragmented and it was not under the ascendancy of single political union. Italian peninsula was rather composed of smaller city states which were organized as distinct principalities.

Discuss the important diplomatic practices in terms of the Peace of Westphalia is signed in 1648 after 30 Years' Wars.

your turn 3

Two important diplomatic practices also turned into a general diplomatic practice in this term. Firstly, diplomatic immunity was recognized by all parties in Europe as a general principle of diplomacy. In this regard, immunity was guaranteed multilaterally to assure the credibility and authenticity of the information delivered by the envoys. In other words, the immunity granted to the diplomats and envoys aimed at making the diplomatic crew feel comfortable so that they would not manipulate the message to be delivered in order to guarantee their own security. This diplomatic custom was later institutionalized and legalized in 1961 Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations, yet it remained as a respected principle mainly after the middle 17th century. Secondly, arrival of a new diplomatic mission to a capital started to be welcomed ceremonially by the host country. Today's 'agrément' ceremonies originate from these ceremonies which became a fashion of the early 18th century in Europe.

Discuss the emergence of ministries of foreign affairs in France.

your turn 4

Today, almost all of the states in the world have a specific ministry in charge of determining and conducting foreign policy. Yet, this was not the case. Modern foreign ministries originated mainly from European states, and it has not been even 250 years that the first foreign ministry was founded under government structure. As diplomacy was professionalized and acknowledged as a field which requires special expertise and training, the states of Europe also recognized the need for a specific ministry under the government which is solely responsible for the conduct of foreign policy. France was again the first country which initiated a specific department responsible for the foreign policy. In *Ancien Régime*, Henry III initiated a department and gave the sole responsibility in foreign policy to a specific department under the government as early as 1589. Yet, it should be noted that this department was far from a ministerial structure compared to modern ministries of foreign affairs. In fact, religious affairs were the dominant theme in the agenda of this department, as it was in contact mainly with the authorities in Vatican. In fact, almost all of the personnel working in this department were coming from a clergy background. Famous Cardinal Richelieu made certain reforms in 1630s to restructure this department in a more organized manner. However, the emergence of a ministry as a modern department of foreign affairs had to wait until the overthrow of the *Ancien Régime*. Still, France was earlier than other European states to initiate a ministry whose sole responsibility was to conduct foreign policy.

Discuss the Track II Diplomacy.

your turn 5

Track II diplomacy is a term that refers to non-conventional diplomacy conducted by not only diplomatic crews, but also by influential individuals (such as artists, authors or celebrities). Track II diplomatic practices usually take place during mediation efforts, formation of peace missions and campaign for more universal causes instead of a political agenda of a specific state. In other words, Track II diplomacy is a non-official effort to facilitate the official diplomatic context towards a cooperative solution.

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Chapter 4

Ottoman Diplomacy and Diplomatic Letters

After completing this chapter you will be able to:

Learning Outcomes

1 Explain the dynamics, instruments and institutions of ad hoc Ottoman Diplomacy

3 Analyze the institutional and instrumental impact of Ottoman diplomacy on the Republican diplomacy

2 Explain the dynamics, instruments and institutions of permanent Ottoman diplomacy

Chapter Outline

Introduction
Ad Hoc Ottoman Diplomacy 1299-1793
Permanent Ottoman Diplomacy 1793-1922
Ottoman Heritage In The Republican Diplomacy

Key Terms

Ottoman Diplomacy
Ad Hoc Diplomacy
Diplomatic Letter
Permanent Diplomacy
Translation Room



INTRODUCTION



Image 4.1 The Ottoman Empire (1299-1922)

Diplomacy can be broadly defined as “an instrument of solving problems between the states before going into an armed conflict.” However, it’s not limited to the solution of inter-state problems in peace. As can be seen in war diplomacy like conferences and meetings between leaders or diplomats during WWI and WWII, diplomacy can be utilized during wars. The origins of diplomacy date back to ancient Greece, where states did not have structures, instruments and institutions in today’s understanding, and Greek city states were conducting diplomatic relations as early as 5th century BC.

Modern diplomacy, on the other hand, began to flourish between Italian city states in the 14th century with the influence of Renaissance Enlightenment. In addition, Reformation played a role in the formation of modern diplomacy in the sense that modern and secular states began to be formed with the division of religious and state affairs after the 15th century. Although diplomacy aimed to solve inter-state problems throughout history, its instruments and institutions transformed. In its primitive form, states were sending diplomats or missionaries temporarily to fulfill specific duties which was called *ad hoc* diplomacy. Beginning from the 14th century, especially in Italy, states began to establish permanent diplomatic missions in foreign countries to conduct their foreign relations and modern diplomacy with its instruments and institutions began to form.

On the other hand, as one of the long-lasting empires of world history, the Ottoman Empire conducted its foreign relations via *ad hoc* diplomacy

until the end of 18th century. It was one of the dominant powers until the end of 17th century and carried out its diplomatic relations on the basis of *superior-inferior* dichotomy. They carried out their diplomatic relations on the basis of unilateralism and there was no room in the Ottoman diplomacy for relations on the basis of equality and mutuality. Therefore, they did not adapt the rules of modern diplomacy until early 1790s because they did not want to make concessions to “inferior” states. However, as opposed to the general view that the Ottomans did not take part in diplomatic relations due to the sense of superiority up until the 18th century, they attached great importance to their diplomatic relations from the beginning. The basic tools of Ottoman diplomacy were *Âmans* (mercies) and capitulations which reflected the unilateral nature of Ottoman diplomacy and started to be granted to Venetians as early as the reign of Mehmed II (*Fatih*) in the 15th century. In the heydays of the Ottoman rule, Suleyman I (*Kanuni*) granted capitulations to France. Initially, capitulations were economic, political and legal privileges granted to foreign states and subjects. However, as time passed and the empire began to decline, they turned into burdens on the Ottoman Empire hard to carry.

Ad Hoc Diplomacy

It was the diplomatic system adapted by the states before the establishment of modern, permanent diplomacy in the 14th and 15th centuries. States were sending temporary representatives or missionaries to each other for specific missions. For the solution of problems, signing treaties, declaring their war or peace decisions, etc. rulers were sending their representatives. After the formation of modern diplomacy, states began to adapt professional and permanent institutions and instruments. The Ottoman Empire used *ad hoc* diplomacy until the end of 18th century. The reign of Selim III, who was closely following the developments in Europe, was a turning point in the adaptation of modern diplomacy. Especially with Mahmud II, the Ottoman Empire began to adapt the rules and institutions of modern diplomacy despite some shortcomings.

After the Ottomans had considered their loss of superiority over the European states, they

began to follow the developments in Europe and establish permanent diplomatic missions abroad. The adaptation of modern diplomacy helped the Ottoman Empire to survive for more than a century. More importantly, this adaptation of diplomatic rules, institutions and instruments had serious impact on Turkish Republican diplomacy. Thus, in this section, four questions will be answered:

1. What were the dynamics that shaped Ad Hoc and Permanent Ottoman diplomacy?
2. What were the institutions and instruments of Ad Hoc and Permanent Ottoman diplomacy?
3. To what extent were Ottoman diplomatic practices successful?
4. What was the impact of Ottoman diplomacy on the Republican diplomacy?

AD HOC OTTOMAN DIPLOMACY 1299-1793

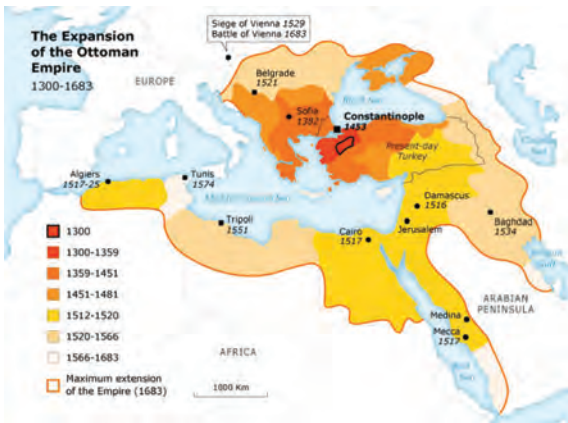


Image 4.2 The Expansion of the Ottoman Empire (1299-1683)



Image 4.3 The Decline of Ottoman Rule (19th and 20th centuries)

- Dynamics of Ad Hoc Ottoman Diplomacy (1299-1793)



Image 4.4 Turco-French Relations in the 16th Century

Born as a small *beylik* (tribe) in the neighborhood of the Byzantine Empire at the end of the 13th century, the Ottoman state turned into one of the greatest empires in world history. They owe much to their geographical position, administrative, economic and military systems for this success. Starting with the 14th century, the Ottoman state began to expand its territories eastwards and westwards. In its heydays during the rule of Suleyman I, they reached the Balkans and the Mediterranean in the west and the Middle East and Africa in the east. After the conquest of Istanbul by Mehmed II, they ended the Byzantine Empire and began to consolidate their power in the Anatolian peninsula. The reign of Selim I (*Yavuz*) witnessed the control of the majority of lands in the Middle East and the transfer of Caliphate from Mamluks to the Ottomans. On the other hand, during the rule of Suleyman I, the Ottomans reached the gates of Vienna, but after the death of Suleyman I, expansion of the Empire lost its pace and the Empire began to decline.

Although it was an expansionist power with imperial claims, the Ottoman Empire did not neglect diplomacy in the period between 15th and 18th centuries and conducted diplomatic relations with Venice, Genoa, Poland, Russia, Iran, Hungary, Austria, France, Transylvania, Bogdan, Walachia, Ragusa, Georgia, Algeria, Tripoli, Morocco and Marrakech. The sense of superiority and powerfulness were important factors in Ottomans' diplomatic relations in its heydays. Some scholars argue that the empire conducted unilateral

diplomacy with these states due to the perception of its dominance over others. In addition, Ottoman sultans did not care for the support of other states or learning opinions and policies of them in certain issues because they thought that it was a kind of inferiority for them to establish permanent diplomatic missions in these countries. (Tuncer, 11) On the other hand, there are different approaches to the source of this sense of superiority. For some scholars, it derived from the perception of Islam as a universal religion and the Ottomans' duty of safeguarding and expanding the rule of Islam. However, it can be argued that the basic motive of Ottoman sultans was to expand their imperial power rather than solely expanding territories under the flag of Islam. Therefore, the Ottoman rulers did not try to establish bilateral diplomatic relations and missions in foreign countries until the 18th century due to their imperial claims and the sense of superiority rather than religious biases which impeded their mutual relations on the basis of equality which is an important principle of modern diplomacy. (Yurdusev, 20)

Nevertheless, the Ottoman rulers attached great importance to diplomatic relations despite unilateral nature of these relations in order to be a part of world system and power struggle. As opposed to the general view that the Ottomans did not have bilateral relations with the European or Christian states because the Quran orders not establishing relations with infidels and fighting against them (Tuncer, 11), Ottoman rulers were more pragmatic than argued. From the beginning, they established close relations not only with *Beyliks* (tribes) in Anatolia, but also with the Byzantine Empire. Through inter-tribal or inter-state marriages, they consolidated their power and expanded their territories. Therefore, the Ottoman Empire cannot be regarded as an entity solely ruled by strict Islamic laws, rather it was also influenced by customary laws and local customs. Ottoman Sultans like Mehmed II issued *qanunnames* (books of law) in accordance with the Turkish state tradition empowered rulers to make laws, so the Ottoman system was not only ruled by religious laws, but also by customary laws. Such a legal system provided flexibility and pragmatism to the policies of the empire. (Yurdusev, 14-15)

Under these circumstances, major instruments of Ottoman diplomacy until the 18th century

were *Âmans* (mercies) or *Abidnames* (treaties) and capitulations which granted certain privileges and immunities to non-Muslims states and subjects. This shows that the Ottoman system was not solely based on permanent struggle with non-Muslims, but also seeking for peaceful relations. For the first time in Ottoman history, Mehmed II granted capitulations to Venetians in 1454 on the basis of existing custom which was derived from the capitulatory agreement between the Byzantine Empire and Venice. Therefore, it can be argued that Ottoman rulers respected customary laws and customs in their diplomatic practices. (Yurdusev, 16) Despite their unilateral nature, the Ottoman rulers made long-lasting agreements with non-Muslims. These treaties were renewed regularly so there was an intention to establish state of peace except several wars in the Ottoman foreign policy. For example, Bayezid II signed an agreement with Pope Innocent VIII. In this treaty, the Sultan and the Pope agreed on the capturing of his brother Cem in France rather than sending him to the foes of the Ottomans in return for the control of Jerusalem by the French King after it had been taken by the Ottoman Empire from Mamluks. (Yurdusev, 16) The deal between the Sultan and the Pope shows the pragmatism of Ottomans in their diplomatic relations.

The main objective of the Ottoman rulers through conducting these pragmatic relations with foreign states was to be an influential actor in the European system. The Sultans carried out cautious diplomatic relations with the European states with considering balance of power in the European states system. Thus, Yurdusev argued that this diplomatic pragmatism triggered, to some extent, the formation of nation states in Europe. On the other hand, as the Ottomans became a powerful empire and a part of this power game, the European states had to take the Ottomans into consideration while making their decisions and implementing their policies, so from time to time they allied with the Ottoman sultan against each other. Therefore, the role of the Ottoman Empire in the European states system facilitated the preservation of *status quo*. (Yurdusev, 22) Especially in the 16th and 17th centuries, the Ottoman rulers supported the English and Dutch against the Habsburgs, the main enemy of the Ottomans at that time, because these states were the forerunners of European resistance against

Habsburgs' dominance in the continent. On the other hand, the Ottoman rulers benefitted from the religious rivalry in Europe and they supported Protestants and Calvinists against the Catholics because this religious split in the continent was an important tool in the war against Habsburgs. The Ottoman pressure on the Habsburgs triggered the spread of Protestantism in Europe. (Yurdusev, 23)

All-in-all, at the apex of its power, the Ottoman Empire's relations with the European states were unilateral due to their superiority over others. However, the Ottoman rulers did not refrain from conducting diplomatic relations with the non-Muslim, European states as a result of their flexibility and pragmatism. In other words, Ottoman diplomacy was not heavily influenced by the strict laws of Islam. More importantly, the empire was an integral part and important factor in European states system and diplomacy. In their calculations, European states or state-like entities had to consider the Ottoman Empire up until the 18th century.

Nevertheless, the change of dynamics in the European states system with the end of Dark Ages after the 15th century with Renaissance and Reformation movements, on the one hand, and geographical discoveries, on the other, the Ottoman Empire faced new challenges and started to decline. However, the decadence of the Ottoman power cannot be explained only by external factors. In other words, after the 16th century, the empire was not ruled by strong and competent rulers as Mehmed II, Selim I and Suleyman I. The administrative system and the palace were full of problems. In addition, especially after mid-1600s, the Ottoman economy started to weaken with the end of territorial expansions, discovery of new routes and defeats in wars with stronger European states as a result of the formation of modern states and armies. Lastly, but more importantly, the Ottoman military system which was the major source of Ottoman power began to decline after the 16th century. Janissaries as the crux of the Ottoman military power lost their discipline and prestige as well as their adaptation to modern war techniques and tactics. The defeat at the gates of Vienna in 1683 and Treaty of Karlowitz in 1699, regarded as the first great territorial loss for the Ottoman empire, were the two important turning points in the Ottoman history.

From the 18th century onwards, the power pendulum began to move from the Ottomans to the European states and diplomacy became more important for the Ottomans than warfare. However, the Ottoman Empire waited for about a century to adapt the institutions and instruments of modern diplomacy and to replace their *ad hoc* diplomacy.

On the other hand, the delay in the adaptation of the rules and tools of modern diplomacy does not mean that Ottoman rulers did not attach importance to diplomacy and diplomatic practices. As mentioned above, from the beginning, they used diplomacy as well as warfare to expand their empire and consolidate their power. However, as the power pendulum moved from the Ottomans to Europeans, the instruments and institutions of Ottoman diplomacy had to change. In the light of these dynamics, the instruments and institutions of *ad hoc* Ottoman Diplomacy will be discussed, and then the success of this diplomacy will be evaluated in the following parts.

- Instruments and Institutions of Ad Hoc Ottoman Diplomacy

Since the establishment of the Ottoman Empire, diplomacy was a significant tool for inter-tribal and inter-state relations. As a part of diplomatic strategy, Ottoman sultans married daughters of chiefs of other tribes or monarchs of the Byzantine Empire. Main objectives of this strategy were developing friendly relations with other states and expanding territories through obtaining new lands as dowry. On the other hand, in the heydays of the Ottoman Empire, its relations with foreign states were not based on mutuality, but on unilaterality. This system was known as the *Âman* (Mercy) System. *Âman* was the privilege or immunity granted by the sultan to foreigners or non-Muslims. This system which protected the rights of non-Muslims within the boundaries of the empire was unilaterally granted by the Ottomans. (Turan, 26)

In addition, *Âman* system constituted the basis of treaties and agreements signed between the Ottomans and foreign states. In accordance with the principles of this system, Ottomans signed treaties and armistice with foreign states for no more than ten years, so they were temporary agreements rather than permanent ones due to the *ghaza* policy

derived from the Islamic dogma. However, this does not mean that the empire was in a permanent war with foreigners or non-Muslims, but it was used as a leverage to expand its territories and reach its objectives. On the other hand, these *Âmans* and treaties with foreign states were controlled and approved by Sheikh-ul Islam (the head of religious affairs). When the Ottoman Empire was powerful, the basic criteria for these *Âmans* and treaties was the interests of the state and its subjects. *Âmans* and treaties against the interests of the state were ruled out by the Sheikh-ul Islam. For example, despite an agreement between the Ottoman Empire and Venice on the basis of *Âmans*, with the fatwa of Sheikh-ul Islam Ebussuud Efendi, the empire launched an attack to Cyprus in 1570. This shows the pragmatism of Ottoman rulers which affected their foreign relations and diplomacy. (İskit, 147)

On the other hand, Ottoman rulers granted certain privileges and rights to non-Muslim states and citizens called capitulations on the basis of *Âman* system. Capitulations were political, economic and legal privileges benefitted by non-Muslims. As early as the fifteenth century, Mehmed II granted capitulations to Venice. However, this policy was a part of power struggle game. After Venice dominated Levant trade, Ottoman rulers supported first Genoa and then Ragusa and Florence which were the main rivals of Venice. In the sixteenth century, Suleyman I granted capitulations to France. From the seventeenth century onwards, the Great Britain, France, Germany and other European powers were competing for capitulations in the Ottoman Empire. At the beginning, capitulations were used as a tool to influence European politics and to divide them before uniting against Ottomans. Moreover, capitulations were utilized to develop Ottoman economy and economic relations with foreign states through providing them some economic privileges like tax exemptions or low customs and tariffs. Until the Ottoman Empire began to decline, capitulations were manageable and profitable. However, as the empire began to lose its power and superiority over the European states, it turned into a heavy burden on the empire which ultimately resulted in the loss of political, economic and legal independence.

Institutionally, Ottoman sultans were sending agents or envoys to carry out their specific missions

in the *ad hoc* diplomacy period. Although they did not establish permanent embassies in foreign states before the 18th century, the Ottomans allowed foreign states to establish diplomatic missions in the empire. Venice was the first state opened an embassy in Istanbul right after the conquest. It was followed by Poland (1475), Russia (1497), France (1525), Austria (1528), the Great Britain (1583) and the Netherlands (1612). (İskit, 147-148) However, the Ottoman Empire was not the only state allowing the establishment of foreign diplomatic missions inside, but not sending its own to foreign states. Until the 18th and 19th centuries, great powers were not willing to establish diplomatic missions in so-called "inferior" states. For example, the Papal states were receiving, but not sending its own ambassadors. Similarly, in the 15th century, the Italian city states sent permanent ambassadors to the Great Britain, France and Spain, but the latter did not reciprocate. (Yurdusev, 26) At the apex of its power, the Ottomans perceived establishment of foreign diplomatic missions in the capital of the empire as a sign of their greatness and superiority. Therefore, diplomatic agents of foreign states were regarded as guests when they stepped in Ottoman territories. All their expenses were paid by the empire. However, when relations with foreign countries deteriorated, the *Âmans* were cancelled and these envoys were even captured and arrested. French charge d'affaires Ruffin was the last envoy captured when the Ottoman Empire declared war against France in 1799 as a result of the Egyptian problem. When the empire began to adapt the rules of modern and permanent diplomacy based on mutuality, the rule of imprisoning agents was abolished. (İskit, 149)

Permanent Diplomacy

It is the diplomatic system began to be adapted by the Italian city states in the 14th and 15th centuries. This system evolved in time and institutions and instruments of modern diplomacy took shape. With this system, ministries of foreign affairs and diplomatic missions were established, diplomats were recruited and trained. Today, instruments and institutions of modern diplomacy are the core elements of inter-state relations. However, with the acceleration of globalization process, tools and actors of diplomacy diversified.

In the *ad hoc* diplomacy period, agents or envoys were sent to foreign states for different purposes. They were assigned by the sultan for signing peace treaties or trade agreements, peace proposals, carrying out peace negotiations or mediating between two states, negotiating the clauses of treaties, establishing or consolidating friendly relations, collecting debts of Ottomans, learning the opinions and policies of the states about the empire, declaring the change of throne, giving presents of the sultan, delivering letters from the sultan, declaring an Ottoman victory, congratulating a new monarch on behalf of the sultan, joining coronations of European monarchs, inviting European monarchs to certain ceremonies and claiming taxes. (Tuncer,12)



Image 4.5 Yirmi Sekiz Çelebi Mehmet

For these specific purposes, sultans were sending envoys to foreign countries who were carefully chosen. In this period, the main criteria for choosing an envoy was the social status of this person and his language skills. Sultans were choosing their envoys from the upper echelons of the society who knew foreign languages. Language was an important criterion for the Ottoman envoys, so there were non-Muslim envoys like Germans and Poles as well as Greeks and Armenians acted on behalf of the sultan in foreign states. (Tuncer, 13)

Ottoman envoys were appointed to temporary positions in the bureaucracy such as *Defterdar* (Financial Officer), *Nişancı* (Head of *Kalemiyye*), *Beylerbeyi* (Governor) and *Kazasker* (Military Judge) to promote them in the eyes of rulers of the receiving state. Extraordinary Envoys were appointed as *Defterdar*, *Nişancı* or Governor

of Mecca, ambassadors were appointed as the Governor of Rumelia or Anatolia and envoys from the *ulema* sent to Iran were appointed as Military Judge of Anatolia. (Tuncer, 14)

Ottoman envoys were sent to foreign missions with a big group of attendants, so sometimes they had a group consisted of thousand people. Ottoman envoys were delivering letters from the Ottoman sultan to the monarch and from the grand vizier to the prime minister of the state they accredited to. As an Ottoman tradition, they were presenting gifts to the monarch and notables of the receiving state. On the other hand, Ottoman envoys were promoted by precious objects and luxurious clothes temporarily by the state to leave a strong impression in the eyes of the rulers and notables of the receiving state. In addition, Ottoman envoys were attaching great importance to the rules of diplomatic protocol during their mission. (Tuncer, 15-16)

Ottoman envoys assigned by the sultan to carry out specific diplomatic activities were evaluating their missions in the reports called *Sefaretname* (Diplomatic Letters). Diplomatic letters were rich sources for the Ottoman diplomacy and diplomatic missions. The number of these diplomatic letters were about forty and the oldest diplomatic letter belongs to Kara Mehmet Pasha sent to Vienna to ameliorate relations between the empire and Austria after Vasvar Treaty had been signed in 1664. There were two types of diplomatic letters: special ones and general ones. Special diplomatic letters were only about the developments and results of the mission carried out by the envoy. On the other hand, in general diplomatic letters, Ottoman envoys were describing social life, military power, culture, education, industry and development level of the receiving country. (İskit, 154) For example, in his letter, Ottoman envoy Yirmi Sekiz Çelebi Mehmet sent to France in 1720 described the journey to France and protocol and ceremonies organized by French counterparts for the Ottoman mission in Paris and Versailles in detail. Moreover, he wrote construction facilities and buildings, observations about the state and the society such as foods, traditions, culture, arts, military structure and scientific developments. (Tuncer, 56-74) Moreover, İbrahim Pasha sent to Vienna in 1719, Ahmed Dürri Efendi sent to Iran in 1721, Vasıf Efendi sent to Spain in 1787 and Ahmet Azmi Efendi sent to Prussia 1790 wrote their letters in

a descriptive and detailed manner. In these letters, the information about the mission and envoy's contacts with its counterparts or the monarch of the receiving state did not exist. Tuncer argues that for the Ottoman envoys, such information was secret of the state. (Tuncer, 47-48)

Diplomatic Letters

The reports prepared by the representative of the Ottoman sultan on behalf of other states. In these reports, they evaluated their observations and impressions in the state they were assigned. Rather than political issues, they were closely observing scientific, technological and cultural developments of these countries. Moreover, they were assessing the protocol prepared for them by the rulers and diplomats of the country they visited. The number of Diplomatic Letters in the Ottoman Empire is about forty.

- Assessment of Ad Hoc Ottoman Diplomacy

To sum up, diplomacy was as crucial as warfare for the Ottomans from the beginning. At the apex of its power, Ottoman rulers conducted unilateral diplomacy because bilateral diplomacy needed mutuality, but the Ottomans had a sense of superiority and there was no room for mutuality until the 19th century. Despite the impact of Islam in the formulation and implementation of foreign relations and diplomacy to the limited extent, the Ottoman Empire cannot be regarded as an orthodox Islamic state. Customary laws or *qanunnames* were constituting a significant part of Ottoman administration system. Therefore, the empire was a crucial part of the balance of power strategy and they did not hesitate to align with non-Muslim states as a part of their pragmatic strategy.

As a politically, economically and militarily strong state especially until the late 18th century, they granted *Âmans* or capitulations to the states they perceived inferior to the empire as diplomatic instruments. On the other hand, Ottoman rulers did not need to open embassies in return for the embassies established by European states in the Ottoman capital due to the sense of superiority

and self-sufficiency. However, this policy was not unique to the Ottomans and in this period all great powers were not

willing to establish permanent diplomatic missions in weaker states.

As the empire began to decline after the 17th century, especially capitulations, which were certain political, economic and legal rights and privileges granted to foreigners, turned into trouble and ultimately resulted in the loss of sovereignty and independence. There were several reasons of the decline of the Ottoman Empire after the 17th century. First of all, Ottoman rulers were not eligible like Mehmed II, Selim I and Suleyman I and they lost the control in the central authority. Secondly, as a result of the developments in Europe such as Renaissance and Reformation, modern and secular states and armies began to form, so there was no power vacuum in the continent that can be filled by the Ottomans. On the contrary, the empire lost its dynamism in science and technology as well as military structure. Thirdly, with the geographical discoveries and the change of trade routes, the Ottomans lost their control and hegemony in the economic realm. In addition, due to defeats in wars and territorial losses, they lost the majority of their revenues.

As the power pendulum moved from the Ottoman Empire to Europe, diplomacy became more important than warfare. However, the Ottoman rulers waited until the end of 18th century to adapt the instruments and institutions of modern diplomacy. They began to replace their unilateral, *ad hoc* diplomacy with bilateral and permanent diplomacy. Temporary diplomatic missions and envoys were replaced by permanent missions and ambassadors. Consequently, diplomacy was an integral part of Ottoman rule, but its dynamics, instruments and institutions evolved throughout history. Permanent Ottoman diplomacy was shaped by different dynamics and consisted new instruments and institutions.



your turn 1

Discuss the dynamics, instruments and institutions of ad hoc Ottoman diplomacy

PERMANENT OTTOMAN DIPLOMACY 1793-1922

The Ottoman Empire had to adapt the instruments and institutions of modern diplomacy at the end of the 18th century. Dynamics shaping Ottoman diplomacy were totally different from ad hoc period up until 1790s and instruments and institutions of Ottoman diplomacy would be compatible with these dynamics.

- Dynamics of Permanent Ottoman Diplomacy (1793-1922)

The French Revolution (1789) and the Industrial Revolution (started in the late 18th century) had serious impact on the Ottoman Empire. Ideas of nationalism, nation-state, equality, fraternity, liberty and justice born out of the French Revolution accelerated the collapse of the empire as other multi-ethnic and multi-religious empires. Starting from the Balkans, all minorities in the Ottoman Empire came up with the demands for independence or at least equality among communities. Ottoman *millet* (community) system prevented them from being treated as equals. In this process, Ottoman subjects in the Balkans, started with Serbs in 1804 and Greeks in 1821, revolted against the Ottoman Empire. In order to save the empire from disintegrating and prevent foreign countries, like Russia claiming protectorate over the Slavs in the Balkans, from intervening in domestic policies, the Ottoman rulers had to take some serious measures. In 1839 *Tanzimat* Edict and in 1856 *Islahat* (Reform) Edict were declared to grant some rights and privileges to the foreign subjects of the Empire. The main actors of this process were the Ottoman diplomats Mustafa Reşid Pasha, Ali Pasha and Fuad Pasha who were formulating and implementing Ottoman foreign policy in this period. These diplomats believed that the empire could be saved through West-oriented reforms and modernization. Ottoman modernization process started with the military as early as Selim III and he decided to establish permanent embassies in Europe because Selim III was aware that the dependence of the Ottomans to European states in political, economic and military realms were increasing. More importantly, he wanted to integrate the empire to the European states system again through modernization and Westernization.

Therefore, the first Ottoman Embassy was established in London in 1793 and this was a turning point in Ottoman diplomacy. Being aware of the loss of dominance and superiority over the European powers, which had become more powerful starting with colonization and continued with the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution, Ottoman rulers used all instruments and institutions of diplomacy. The Industrial Revolution also played a serious role in the erosion of Ottoman power. With the accumulation of capital and boom in economic production, Western states hegemonized the international relations. On the contrary, the Ottoman Empire could not keep up pace with these developments and began to collapse due to the lack of initiative to adapt new rules and developments in technology, science, military and economy.

The global conjuncture and strong state, military and economic structures had allowed the Ottomans to turn into an empire from a small *beylik* in the 15th and 16th centuries while the decline in all these dynamics and changes in the global conjuncture started especially in the 17th and 18th centuries. More importantly, capitulations granted by the Ottomans to foreign countries as early as the 15th century turned into a burden that could not be carried by the empire as the power balance shifted from the empire to European states. Under these circumstances, diplomacy became a necessary tool to survive or at least delay the collapse of the empire. Ottomans became a part of Concert of Europe system, which had been established in Vienna Congress of 1815 after Napoleonic Wars, after the Crimea War against Russia between 1853 and 1856. In this war, the Great Britain and France allied with the Ottomans against Russians. From then on, the Ottoman Empire became a part of this balance of power system because both the Ottomans and the European States understood that the empire could not survive alone. As a result of this changing alliances, sometimes with the Great Britain and France against Russia and sometimes with Germany, especially during the reign of Abdulhamid II against the Great Britain and France, the Ottomans survived for more decades. Nevertheless, the inability of the Ottomans to protect their sovereignty and territorial integrity resulted in their perception as the *Sick Man of Europe* in the eyes of European

powers that connoted the Eastern Question. Ottoman rulers played this balance of power game through diplomacy and this process accelerated the modernization and professionalization of Ottoman diplomacy. Ottoman diplomats tried to establish friendly and close relations with the European states and they granted more privileges to Europeans in order to solve their problems in a peaceful way due to the weakness and backwardness of their army to protect their territorial integrity and sovereignty.

Until the reign of Abdulhamid II (1876-1909) the major ally of the Ottoman Empire was the Great Britain. The latter was the most powerful state of the time. With the reign of Abdulhamid II, Ottomans established closer relations with Germany as the politically and militarily rising power of continental Europe. Turco-German alliance was a bilateral relationship through which both sides were trying to maximize their interests and these relations continued to develop during Young Turks (1908-1918). According to the colonizers of the West like the Great Britain and France, the solution of the Eastern Question was the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire at the beginning of the 20th century because the clouds of war were seen in the horizon. For the European states, after such a war, the Ottoman Empire should not be controlled by any of these powers alone. During WWI (1914-1918) the Ottoman Empire allied with Germany. With a secret treaty signed between two states on the eve of WWI, the Ottoman Empire declared war against the Allies and became a part of Entente powers. Turco-German alliance during WWI cannot be explained only by the admiration of some Ottoman statesmen for German power and military structure. First of all, the empire did not have an option except Germany because the diplomatic efforts before the war in London and Paris did not bear fruit. Therefore, Ottomans and Germans had to form an alliance and all these processes were carried out through diplomatic channels.

At the end of WWI, the Ottoman Empire had to seek an armistice and with the Mudros Armistice signed on October 30, 1918 and Sevres Peace Treaty signed on July 10, 1920 territories of the empire were divided and invaded by the Allies. After the invasion of the country, National Movement appeared and the process of National Struggle started. Throughout the National Struggle,

Sultan Vahdettin and Istanbul government endeavored to save the empire through diplomacy and negotiations with the Allies.

However, with the success of National Struggle and Ankara government, Istanbul government and the sultan lost their prestige and after Ankara government was invited by the Allies to Lausanne for peace negotiations together with Istanbul government, the dynasty was abolished on November 1, 1922 and the Ottoman Empire came to an end. In order to fill this power vacuum, Republican regime was established on October 29, 1923. The Republican regime was a rupture from the Ottoman Empire, but it inherited some feature of the latter and diplomacy can be regarded as one of these commonalities, to some extent, between the empire and the republic.

- Instruments and Institutions of Permanent Ottoman Diplomacy



Image 4.6 First Ottoman Ambassador – Yusuf Agah Efendi

As a result of the change of power balance with Europe, Ottoman approach to diplomacy faced new challenges after the 18th century. Political, economic and military development of European states accelerated as a result of the formation of modern, secular states after Westphalia Treaty in 1648. French and Industrial Revolutions seriously influenced this development process. As the European powers became dominant in world politics, the Ottoman Empire lost its comparative advantage experienced in the 15th and 16th centuries. Under these circumstances there was no

room for unilateral diplomacy and *Âman* system that Ottoman rulers granted certain rights and privileges to the “inferior” states. After the 18th century, European states began to control Ottoman politics, economy and legal system. For example, *Hünkâr İskelesi* Treaty (1833) with Russia and *Baltalimanı* Treaty with the Great Britain (1838) granted certain capitulations to these states to the disadvantage of the Ottoman Empire. However, Ottoman rulers tried to use these capitulations as a part of their balance of power strategy after the Crimea War. As time passed, capitulations were abused by the European powers to consolidate their power and control over the Ottomans. Young Turks unilaterally abolished capitulations in 1914 during WWI, but after Mudros Armistice they began to be implemented. During the Lausanne Conference, capitulations were one of the harshly debated issues, but ultimately they were abolished in 1923. All-in-all, *Âman* System and capitulations were the basic instruments of Ottoman diplomacy until the Ottoman rulers began to implement the rules and instruments of modern diplomacy.

Ottoman diplomacy had to adapt the rules and instruments of modern diplomacy flourished and consolidated in Europe from the 15th century onwards. The empire became a part of bilateral diplomacy on the basis of mutuality and equality, on the one hand, and multilateral diplomacy, on the other. As a result of the balance of power strategy established in Europe with the Vienna Congress, multilateral diplomacy was the major diplomatic instrument in the 19th century. With the decline of Ottoman power in this period and the need to make alliances with the European powers in order to survive, Ottoman rulers did not hesitate to join multilateral conferences to solve their problems in the international arena. Paris Treaty was signed in 1856 after the Crimea War and it was stated that sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire would be protected by European powers especially the Great Britain and France. Therefore, particularly against the Russian threat, these two powers supported the Ottoman Empire. For example, after the Turco-Russian War in 1877-78, the Ottoman Empire and Russia signed the treaty of *Ayastefanos* (Saint Stefano), but Berlin Congress was convened in 1878 upon the invitation of German Chancellor Otto von Bismarck, as the leader of the rising power in continental Europe,

and heavy clauses of this treaty were changed to the advantage of the Ottoman Empire.

In this period, the main motive of the European powers was to prevent the hegemony and control of any one of them over the empire. However, as time passed, the Ottoman empire began to be considered as the *Sick Man of Europe* and these powers gave up their strategy of protecting the unity of the Ottoman Empire, and adapted the strategy of sharing the empire among them. On the other hand, the Ottoman rulers utilized the strategy of finding allies against the enemies to the last minute. Before WWI, they sought for establishing alliances with the European powers, particularly the Great Britain and France, but when their proposals for alliance were rejected by these powers due their new strategy of dividing the empire among them, they had to choose the alliance with Germany as the result of their closer relations started with the reign of Abdulhamid II.



Image 4.7 Ottoman Diplomats – Treaty of Saint Stefano (Ayastefanos) (1878)

Consequently, the Ottoman Empire adapted the rules and instruments of modern diplomacy starting from the 19th century. In the same vein, they modernized the instruments and institutions of their diplomatic structure. Modernization and professionalization of Ottoman diplomacy started with Selim III, who was a visionary sultan seeking for modernization and Westernization of Ottoman system in all aspects such as the military, bureaucracy and economy. Therefore, for Selim III, it was necessary for the Ottoman Empire to establish permanent diplomatic missions in European capitals because the sultan was aware that in comparison to the European state system,

the Ottoman system was backward. Therefore, modernization of the Ottoman system was crucial for the survival of the empire.

The first Ottoman embassy was established in London in 1793 and Yusuf Agah Efendi was appointed as the first permanent Ottoman ambassador. Despite close relations with France, the first embassy was not opened in Paris because French Revolution was shaking French dynastic rule from its roots, so the Ottoman sultan was cautious for the recognition of the newly established republican regime. (Tuncer, 19) As time passed, permanent diplomatic missions were established in European capitals such as Paris and Vienna. However, the sultan did not send a permanent mission to Saint Petersburg initially because relations with Russia were not friendly at that time. After the Crimea War (1853-1856), permanent embassy was established in the Russian capital. (İskit, 157)

Ottoman ambassadors were chosen among the families acting in the bureaucracy. Most of them were coming from the higher echelons of the society. There were some families from which two or more ambassadors were appointed. First Ottoman ambassadors were self-trained people due to the lack of a recruitment system for diplomatic missions. They learnt foreign languages and the practice of diplomacy by themselves during their missions abroad. Some of these ambassadors graduated from schools in Istanbul such as *Soğukçeşme Askeri Rüşdiyesi* (Military High School), *Mahreç-i Aklam* and *Bab-ı Âli Lisan Mektebi* (Language School). On the other hand, with the establishment of *Mektebi Sultani* (Palace School) and *Mülkiye* (Civil Service School), late Ottoman ambassadors graduated from these schools. (İskit, 164-165)

More importantly, minorities were significant actors in the Ottoman diplomacy because of their language skills. Greek and Armenian minorities were recruited as translators and also they were employed in foreign missions as charge d'affaires and envoys. For example, 3 out of 16 envoys sent to London, 2 out of 7 envoys sent to Washington, 2 out of 15 envoys sent to Berlin and 4 out of 10 envoys sent to Rome were Greeks. Greek Musurus Pasha (1807-1891) was appointed as the Ottoman ambassador in London and he kept his office for 36 years. (Tuncer, 29) However, with Serbian and

Greek uprisings during the reign of Mahmud II, training Turkish-Muslim translators and diplomats became a priority for the Ottomans. To this end, *Tercüme Odası* (Translation Room) was established in 1821 and Muslim-Turkish translators began to be trained in this institution and they replaced *Dragomans* who were the translators during the *ad hoc* period.

Dragoman

Dragomans were responsible for the translation of reports, documents and treaties in the Ottoman Empire especially in the classical age. They were integral parts of the Ottoman diplomacy from the beginning. Dragomans were selected among the people who knew foreign languages. After the Ottoman Empire had begun to modernize and professionalize its diplomacy, translators in the Translation Room and Ministry of Foreign Affairs replaced Dragomans.

Translation Room

It was the office in the Ottoman diplomatic system where translation of reports, treaties and documents were carried out. Translation Room was a significant part of the Ottoman diplomacy because officials who knew foreign languages were working in this office. Initially, German, Polish, Greek and Armenian translators were working in the office, whereas after Mahmud II, the empire favored Turkish people in this institution.

Missions of the Ottoman ambassadors in the permanent diplomacy period were similar to the *ad hoc* period. Ottoman ambassadors were responsible for observing, following and reporting the developments in the states that they were accredited to. In addition, they were closely following the press and translating and sending the news to the capital regularly. Ottoman ambassadors were the main element of the communication between the empire and the receiving state. They were reporting the events and the developments as well

as the policies of the receiving state. Furthermore, they were the intermediaries between two states during peace negotiations and signing of peace treaties. More importantly, Ottoman ambassadors were observing and analyzing social, economic and military structure of the receiving state as well as technological and scientific developments. (Tuncer, 26-28) All-in-all, missions of Ottoman ambassadors played an important role in the modernization and Westernization of the empire in this period. Their observations and analyses inspired the rulers to make necessary changes and reforms.

Diplomatic protocol was an important element of permanent Ottoman diplomacy. Permanent ambassadors were leaving the Ottoman capital with a letter written by the sultan to the monarch of the receiving state and their mission started after they had delivered this letter. Similarly, when their missions ended, they delivered a letter from the monarch of the receiving state to the sultan. In these letters, monarchs were evaluating ambassador's mission and his relations with their counterparts or citizens in a detailed manner. (Tuncer, 21-22)

Until the declaration of the II. Constitutional Monarchy in 1908, Muslim diplomats could not take their wives with them to their mission and this rule caused some family problems. Some of these diplomats married foreigners during their mission. The ban of taking their wives to their mission was lifted with the II. Constitutional Monarchy and wives accompanied their husbands in the diplomatic protocol. (İskit, 165)

On the other hand, expenses of permanent ambassadors were paid by the state and they were paid regular salaries. Their salaries were determined in accordance with the level of their service in the bureaucracy. Therefore, there was a gap between salaries of ambassadors. (Tuncer, 20-21)

In the late Ottoman period, modernization of diplomatic service was followed by the professionalization of ministry of foreign affairs. Before the 19th century, *Reis-ül Küttap* (Head of Secretaries) was mainly responsible for diplomatic correspondence. This body was established during the reign of Suleyman I and working subject to the Grand Vizier. The mission of *Reis-ül Küttap* in the state apparatus was to control duties of secretaries in the diplomatic correspondence. As time passed,

Grand Vizier delegated the execution of foreign and political relations to *Reis-ül Küttaps* although they were not acting independently as a minister of foreign affairs.

Reis-ül Küttap

The head of secretaries in the Ottoman diplomatic system. Initially, they were responsible for conducting Ottoman diplomatic correspondence until the end of 18th century. After the modernization and professionalization of Ottoman diplomacy with Selim III, they began to act as the minister of foreign affairs. However, these people were not professional diplomats eligible for conducting diplomatic relations due to the lack of their knowledge about diplomatic rules and instruments. After Mahmud II had established the ministry of foreign affairs and started to modernize the Translation Room, they were replaced by professional diplomats.

After the 18th century, Ottoman diplomacy began to professionalize and the scope of *Reis-ül Küttap's* missions expanded. Although they were the main people responsible for diplomatic relations, *Reis-ül Küttaps* were not eligible for this position due to the lack of language skills and diplomatic protocol. Therefore, Mahmud II established *Hariciye Nezareti* (Minister of Foreign Affairs) in 1836 as the first step of the establishment of a modern and professional body for conducting foreign relations. (Tuncer, 30-31) It can be regarded as the beginning of today's Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs.



Image 4.8 Ottoman Diplomats – Berlin Congress (1878)

After Abdulmecit (1839-1861) had come to throne, power was shifted from the palace to the *Bab-ı Âli* (government) due to the dominance of the men of Tanzimat: Mustafa Reşid Pasha, Âli Pasha and Fuad Pasha. They were professional diplomats and ardent supporters of modernization and Westernization. They were following the developments in the West and they ruled the state as ambassadors, ministers of foreign affairs and Grand Viziers successively for thirty years. In this period, extensive reforms were carried out ranging from political and economic to military and legal structure of the Ottoman Empire. These statesmen had closer relations with European powers because of their service to the state as diplomats, ministers and Grand Viziers, so they played an important role for the establishment of close relations with European powers as well as the professionalization and modernization of diplomatic institutions in the Ottoman Empire. The system established and institutions created in the early 19th century remained as the instruments and institutions of permanent Ottoman diplomacy until the collapse of the empire.

- Assessment of Permanent Ottoman Diplomacy

Modernization and Westernization of the Ottoman Empire coincided with the transition from *ad hoc* diplomacy to permanent diplomacy. The French Revolution had serious impact on the empire like all other multi-ethnic and multi-religious empires in this period. The rise of national sentiments and, as a result, nationalist revolts threatened territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire. In addition, erosion of central authority, collapse of the economy, decline in the military power caused the loss of superiority over non-Muslim or European powers beginning from the 17th century. Therefore, the empire became vulnerable to outside effects and had to find remedies to all these problems. More importantly, the rules, instruments and institutions of Ottoman diplomacy after the 18th century needed to be totally different from those of *ad hoc* period because the empire was not in a hegemonic position to dictate its bilateral diplomacy and its rules and interests. As a result, modernization and adaptation process started with Selim III and first permanent embassies began to be established in European capitals. Westernization of diplomacy brought the

professionalization of diplomatic missions and diplomats. Diplomats of the permanent diplomacy period were learning foreign languages, observing and following the developments in Europe which was the center of attraction at that time. At the beginning, Greeks and Armenians were recruited in the Translation Room and Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but with the reign of Mahmud II, Muslim and Turkish translators and diplomats began to be trained. In return, these diplomats catalyzed Western style reforms and developments especially during the Tanzimat period in different spheres. With the adaptation of modern diplomacy, the Ottoman Empire became a part of Concert of Europe, which had been established with the Vienna Treaty after Napoleonic wars in 1815, with Paris Treaty in 1856 after the Crimea War. The Crimea War showed the inability of the Ottoman Empire to protect its sovereignty and territorial integrity without the support of European powers. The inability of the Ottoman Empire to stand alone in the international arena turned into the Eastern Question at the end of the 19th century. However, the Concert of Europe system based on balance of power strategy delayed the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and it survived until the end of WWI.

With the modernization of diplomatic instruments and institutions, the Ottoman Empire benefitted from the rivalry among European powers. Sometimes it made alliances with the Great Britain and France against Russia like the Crimea War or with Germany against the other European powers like WWI. During the Tanzimat era, allies of the empire were the Great Britain and France, but with the reign of Abdulhamid II, Germany became the major ally. Despite the alliances between the Ottoman Empire and these states, they were all seeking to maximize their political, economic and military interests. In this vein, the scope of capitulations was extended and certain privileges were granted to all these European powers. However, the global conjuncture and the situation of the empire necessitated to do so. The success of these strategies is open to debate, but it is obvious that as a result of these strategies the empire survived for about a century. More importantly, modernization and Westernization efforts in the Ottoman Empire besides the professionalization of diplomacy heavily influenced the Turkish Republic following the war of independence regarding the

dynamics and mentality shaped Turkish foreign policy, instruments and institutions of Turkish diplomacy.



your turn ²

Discuss the dynamics, instruments and institutions of permanent Ottoman diplomacy

OTTOMAN HERITAGE IN THE REPUBLICAN DIPLOMACY

After the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, the Turkish Republic was established by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. When the National Struggle ended, Turkey was a politically, economically, militarily and socially backward country. Starting from the early 1920s, Atatürk carried out reforms in various areas. From the political system to the alphabet, the impact of reforms dispersed throughout the country. The major goal was to consolidate the newly established nation state and cut the ties with the Ottoman Empire to the extent possible. In many areas, there were influential reforms that shook the country and society from its roots. However, with regard to foreign policy and diplomacy, there are certain commonalities between the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic.

First of all, the Turkish Republic was established on the same geography despite shrinkage of Ottoman territories after the 18th century. The Straits and geographical location, as a bridge between Europe and Asia, of the Turkish Republic can be considered as important elements of its foreign policy. On the one hand, these elements enable Turkey, as a medium-sized power as opposed to the Ottoman Empire claiming global superiority, to carry out negotiations in order to maximize its interests to the extent possible, but, on the other hand, as a state encircled by regions like the Balkans and the Middle East full of problems forces it to conduct a cautious foreign policy and diplomacy.

Secondly, the mindset of the Republican rulers and diplomats have been shaped by the Ottoman balance of power strategy especially after the 19th

century. Both its founders Atatürk and İnönü and their successors tried hard to increase the number of friends and decrease the number of enemies. Especially during WWII and the Cold War, Turkey tried to establish alliances with Western powers like the Great Britain and France against German and Italian revisionism and expansionism during WWII and the United States against the Soviet claims and threat during the Cold War. The global conjuncture and Turkey's own interests like protection of territorial integrity and sovereignty, economic development and military modernization necessitated to do so. This also shows the Western-oriented foreign policy and diplomacy since the beginning of modernization and Westernization efforts in the Ottoman Empire by Selim III.

Thirdly, rulers of the Turkish Republic similar to the Ottoman sultans and the statesmen especially during the decline and collapse periods have refrained from wars and they have attached great importance to the solution of problems through diplomacy. In this vein, Turkey became a member of League of Nations (LoN) in 1932 upon its invitation and joined the United Nations (UN) after WWII and NATO in 1952. Protection of regional and global *status quo* as well as Turkey's sovereignty and territorial integrity have been the priorities of Turkish statesmen. In addition, when Turkish foreign policy in the Republican era is considered, the dominance of leaders in the formulation of foreign policy can be clearly seen. Starting from Atatürk, dominant figures like İsmet İnönü, Adnan Menderes, Süleyman Demirel, Bülent Ecevit, Turgut Özal and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan have become influential figures in Turkish foreign policy.

Institutionally, the roots of Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs date back to the Translation Room established in 1821 by Mahmud II. In time, *Hariciye Nezareti* (Foreign Ministry) was established and professional diplomats began to be trained. When the Republican regime was established, rulers of the state faced the problem of shortage of well-trained diplomats. Starting with the early years of the republic, professionalization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and diplomats have been prioritized by the state. During Atatürk's and İnönü's presidencies, they preferred working with their close friends like Yusuf Kemal Tengirşenk, Tevfik Rüştü Aras, Rauf Orbay, Ali Fuad Cebesoy,

Fethi Okyar, Ruşen Eşref Ünaydın, Yusuf Hikmet Bayur, Yakup Kadri Karaosmanoğlu, Münir Ertegün and Hüsrev Gerede most of whom were not professional diplomats, but soldiers or intellectuals who knew several languages and able to represent the state in foreign countries. (İskit, 227) Conducting diplomacy through reliable and eligible people was a practice of Ottoman sultans and rulers not only in the ad hoc diplomacy period, but also in permanent diplomacy period. As time passed and the ministry of foreign affairs professionalized and the number of trained diplomats and personnel increased, Turkish diplomacy was conducted by professionals.

All-in-all, when the dynamics and institutions of Turkish foreign policy and diplomacy are considered, the heritage of Ottoman diplomacy can be clearly seen. In terms of mindset, objectives, instruments and institutions, Turkish diplomacy can be regarded as a continuation of Ottoman diplomacy.



your turn ³

What is the instrumental and institutional heritage of Ottoman diplomacy in the Republican diplomacy?

LO 1

Explaining the dynamics, instruments and institutions of ad hoc Ottoman Diplomacy

The sense of superiority and powerfulness were important factors in Ottomans' diplomatic relations in this period. Some scholars argue that the empire conducted unilateral diplomacy with these states due to the perception of their dominance over others. In addition, Ottoman sultans did not care for the support of other states or learning opinions and policies of them in certain issues. Therefore, it was a kind of inferiority for the Ottomans to establish permanent diplomatic missions in foreign countries. On the other hand, there are different approaches to the source of this sense of superiority. For some scholars, it derived from the perception of Islam as a universal religion and the Ottomans' duty of safeguarding and expanding the rule of Islam. However, it can be argued that the basic motive of Ottoman sultans was to expand their imperial power rather than solely expanding territories under the flag of Islam. Therefore, the Ottoman rulers did not try to establish bilateral diplomatic relations and missions in foreign countries until the 18th century due to their imperial claims and the sense of superiority which might impede their mutual relations on the basis of equality which is an important principle of modern diplomacy. Major instruments of Ottoman diplomacy until the 18th century were *Âmans* (mercies) or *Abidnames* (treaties) and capitulations which granted certain privileges and immunities to non-Muslims subjects and states. This shows that the Ottoman system was not solely based on permanent struggle with non-Muslims, but seeking for peaceful relations. For the first time in Ottoman history, Mehmed II granted capitulations to Venetians in 1454 on the basis of existing custom which was derived from the capitulatory agreement between the Byzantine Empire and Venice. Therefore, it can be argued that Ottoman rulers respected customary laws and customs in their diplomatic practices. Despite their unilateral nature, the Ottoman rulers made long-lasting agreements with non-Muslims. These treaties were renewed regularly so there was an intention to establish state of peace except several wars in the Ottoman foreign policy. In the *ad hoc* diplomacy period based on unilaterality, Ottoman sultans were sending agents or envoys to carry out their temporary missions. Although they did not establish permanent embassies in foreign states before the 18th century, they allowed foreign states to open diplomatic missions in the empire.

LO 2

Explaining the dynamics, instruments and institutions of permanent Ottoman diplomacy

The global conjuncture and strong state, military and economic structures allowed the Ottomans to turn into an empire from a small *beylik* in the 15th and 16th centuries while the decline in all these dynamics and changes in the global conjuncture started especially in the 17th and 18th centuries. Capitulations granted by the Ottomans to foreign countries as early as the 15th century turned into a burden that could not be carried by the empire as the power balance shifted from the empire to European states. Under these circumstances, diplomacy became a necessary tool to survive or at least delay the collapse of the empire. Ottomans became a part of Concert of Europe system, which had been established in Vienna Congress of 1815 after Napoleonic Wars, after the Crimea War against the Russian Empire between 1853 and 1856. Modernization and professionalization of Ottoman diplomacy started with Selim III, who was a visionary sultan seeking for modernization and Westernization of Ottoman system in all aspects such as the military, bureaucracy and economy. Therefore, for Selim III, it was necessary for the Ottoman Empire to establish permanent diplomatic missions in European capitals because the sultan was aware that in comparison to the European state system, the Ottoman system was backward. Therefore, modernization of the Ottoman system was crucial for the survival of the empire. The first Ottoman embassy was established in London in 1793 and Yusuf Agah Efendi was appointed as the first permanent Ottoman ambassador. Despite close relations with France, the first embassy was not opened in Paris because French Revolution was shaking French dynastic rule from its roots, so the Ottoman sultan was cautious for the recognition of the newly established republican regime. As time passed, permanent diplomatic missions were established in European capitals like Paris and Vienna. However, the sultan did not send a permanent mission to Saint Petersburg initially because relations with Russia were not friendly at that time. After the Crimea War (1853-1856), permanent embassy was established in the Russian capital.

LO 3

Analyzing the institutional and instrumental impact of Ottoman diplomacy on the Republican diplomacy

First of all, the Turkish Republic was established on the same geography despite shrinkage of Ottoman territories after the 18th century. The Straits and geographical location, as a bridge between Europe and Asia, of the Turkish Republic can be considered as important elements of its foreign policy. Secondly, the mindset of the Republican rulers and diplomats have been shaped by the Ottoman balance of power strategy especially after the 19th century. Both its founders Atatürk and İnönü and their successors tried hard to increase the number of friends and decrease the number of enemies. Thirdly, rulers of the Turkish Republic similar to the Ottoman sultans and the statesmen especially during the decline and collapse periods have refrained from wars and they have attached great importance to the solution of problems through diplomacy. Institutionally, the roots of Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs date back to the Translation Room established in 1821 by Mahmud II. In time, *Hariciye Nezareti* (Foreign Ministry) was established and professional diplomats began to be trained. When the Republican regime was established, rulers of the state faced the problem of shortage of well-trained diplomats. Starting with the early years of the republic, professionalization of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and diplomats have been prioritized by the state.

1 Where did permanent diplomacy begin to form?

- a. France
- b. England
- c. Germany
- d. Italy
- e. Spain

2 What was the first state the Ottoman Empire granted capitulations?

- a. France
- b. Spain
- c. Portugal
- d. Venice
- e. Genova

3 When did the Ottoman Empire begin to adapt the rules and institutions of modern diplomacy?

- a. 15th century
- b. 16th century
- c. 17th century
- d. 18th century
- e. 19th century

4 Where was the first Ottoman permanent embassy opened?

- a. France
- b. England
- c. Germany
- d. Spain
- e. The Netherlands

5 Who was the first permanent ambassador of the Ottoman Empire?

- a. Yirmi Sekiz Çelebi Mehmet
- b. Yusuf Agah Efendi
- c. Mustafa Reşid Pasha
- d. Fuad Pasha
- e. Ali Pasha

6 Who was the first Ottoman sultan opened permanent embassies?

- a. Süleyman I
- b. Mehmed II
- c. Mahmud II
- d. Abdulhamid II
- e. Selim III

7 What was the first state opened an embassy in the capital of the Ottoman Empire?

- a. England
- b. Genova
- c. France
- d. Venice
- e. The Netherlands

8 What was the name of the system established in Europe after Napoleonic Wars in the early 19th century?

- a. Council of Europe
- b. Balance of Europe
- c. League of Nations
- d. Holy League
- e. Concert of Europe

9 With which event did the Ottoman Empire become a part of European states' system?

- a. Berlin Congress
- b. Treaty of Karlowitz
- c. Treaty of Saint Stefano
- d. Crimea War
- e. WWI

10 What was the name of the treaty that modern states began to form?

- a. Campo Formio Treaty
- b. Paris Treaty
- c. London Treaty
- d. Saint Stefano Treaty
- e. Westphalia Treaty

1. d	If your answer is incorrect, review "Introduction"	6. e	If your answer is incorrect, review "Dynamics of Permanent Ottoman Diplomacy"
2. d	If your answer is incorrect, review "Introduction"	7. d	If your answer is incorrect, review "Institutions of Ad Hoc Ottoman Diplomacy"
3. d	If your answer is incorrect, review the "Ad Hoc Ottoman Diplomacy 1299-1793"	8. e	If your answer is incorrect, review "Dynamics of Permanent Ottoman Diplomacy"
4. b	If your answer is incorrect, review "Institutions of Permanent Ottoman Diplomacy"	9. d	If your answer is incorrect, review "Dynamics of Permanent Ottoman Diplomacy"
5. b	If your answer is incorrect, review "Institutions of Permanent Ottoman Diplomacy"	10. e	If your answer is incorrect, review "Dynamics of Ad Hoc Ottoman Diplomacy"

Discuss the dynamics, instruments and institutions of ad hoc Ottoman diplomacy?

your turn 1

The sense of superiority and powerfulness were important factors in Ottomans' diplomatic relations in this period. On the other hand, the Ottoman Empire was an entity ruled by both Islamic laws and customary laws and local customs. Ottoman Sultans like Mehmed II issued *qanunnames* (books of law) in accordance with the Turkish state tradition empowered rulers to make laws, so the Ottoman system was not only ruled by religious laws, but also by customary laws. Such a legal system provided flexibility and pragmatism to the policies of the empire. Major instruments of Ottoman diplomacy until the 18th century were *Âmans* (mercies) or *Abidnames* (treaties) and capitulations which granted certain privileges and immunities to non-Muslims subjects and states. In the *ad hoc* diplomacy period based on unilaterality, Ottoman sultans were sending agents or envoys to carry out their temporary missions. In the *ad hoc* diplomacy period, agents or envoys were sent to foreign states for different purposes. They were assigned by the sultan for signing peace treaties or trade agreements, peace proposals, carrying out peace negotiations or mediating between two states, negotiating the clauses of treaties, establishing or consolidating friendly relations, collecting debts of Ottomans, learning the opinions and policies of the states about the empire, declaring the change of throne, giving presents of the sultan, delivering letters from the sultan, declaring an Ottoman victory, congratulating a new monarch on behalf of the sultan, joining coronations of European monarchs, inviting European monarchs to certain ceremonies and claiming taxes.

Discuss the dynamics, instruments and institutions of permanent Ottoman diplomacy

your turn 2

The global conjuncture and strong state, military and economic structures allowed the Ottomans to turn into an empire from a small *beylik* in the 15th and 16th centuries while the decline in all these dynamics and changes in the global conjuncture started especially in the 17th and 18th centuries. Capitulations granted by the Ottomans to foreign countries as early as the 15th century turned into a burden that could not be carried by the empire as the power balance shifted from the empire to European states. Under these circumstances, diplomacy became a necessary tool to survive or at least delay the collapse of the empire. Ottomans became a part of Concert of Europe system, which had been established in Vienna Congress of 1815 after Napoleonic Wars, after the Crimea War against the Russian Empire between 1853 and 1856. In this war, the Great Britain and France allied with the Ottomans against Russians. From then on, the Ottoman Empire became a part of this balance of power system because both the Ottomans and the European States understood that the empire could not survive alone. With the decline of Ottoman power in this period and the need to make alliances with the European powers in order to survive, Ottoman rulers did not hesitate to join multilateral conferences to solve their problems in the international arena. Paris Treaty was signed in 1856 after the Crimea War and it was stated that sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Ottoman Empire would be protected by European powers especially the Great Britain and France. Ottoman Empire adapted the rules and instruments of modern diplomacy starting from the 19th century. In the same vein, they modernized the instruments and institutions of their diplomatic structure. Modernization and professionalization of Ottoman diplomacy started with Selim III, who was a visionary sultan seeking for modernization and Westernization of Ottoman system in all aspects such as the military, bureaucracy and economy. Therefore, for Selim III, it was necessary for the Ottoman Empire to establish permanent diplomatic missions in European capitals because the sultan was aware that in comparison to the European state system, the Ottoman system was backward. Therefore, modernization of the Ottoman system was crucial for the survival of the empire.

What is the instrumental and institutional heritage of Ottoman diplomacy in the Republican diplomacy?

your turn 3

Despite the rupture between the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic, there are some continuities between the two in foreign policy and diplomacy. First of all, the Turkish Republic was established on the same geography despite shrinkage of Ottoman territories after the 18th century. The Straits and geographical location, as a bridge between Europe and Asia, of the Turkish Republic can be considered as important elements of its foreign policy. Secondly, the mindset of the Republican rulers and diplomats have been shaped by the Ottoman balance of power strategy especially after the 19th century. Thirdly, rulers of the Turkish Republic similar to the Ottoman sultans and the statesmen especially during the decline and collapse periods have refrained from wars and they have attached great importance to the solution of problems through diplomacy. Institutionally, the roots of Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs date back to the Translation Room established in 1821 by Mahmud II. In time, *Hariciye Nezareti* (Foreign Ministry) was established and professional diplomats began to be trained.

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Chapter 5

Instruments and Institutions of Modern Diplomacy

After completing this chapter, you will be able to;

Learning Outcomes

- 1 Analyze the development of modern diplomacy within the framework of international developments after the formation of modern states
- 2 Categorize and explain the instruments of modern diplomacy such as bilateral diplomacy, multilateral diplomacy and summit diplomacy
- 3 Categorize and explain the institutions of modern diplomacy such as ministry of foreign affairs, diplomatic missions and non state actors

Chapter Outline

Origins and Evolution of Modern Diplomacy
Instruments of Modern Diplomacy
Institutions of Modern Diplomacy

Key Terms

Modern Diplomacy
Bilateral Diplomacy
Multilateral Diplomacy
Summit Diplomacy
Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Diplomatic Missions



INTRODUCTION

Diplomacy is the main tool of conducting inter-state relations. Its origins date back to ancient Greece. From the 5th century BC to 14th century AD, diplomatic activities were mainly carried out by temporary missions which was called *ad hoc* diplomacy. Rulers of states or state-like entities were assigning envoys to fulfill specific missions such as declaring war and peace, negotiating and signing agreements, etc. Modern or permanent diplomacy began to form in the Italian city states. However, professionalization of diplomatic institutions started with the Westphalia Treaty in 1648 after which modern and secular states began to be established. Evolution of diplomatic instruments and institutions triggered after the French Revolution with the formation of nation states in today's understanding. As time passed, forms of these tools have changed. The last turning point in this process can be regarded as the globalization era after 1980s.

Westphalia Treaty

This treaty is regarded as the beginning of modern and secular state formation in diplomatic history. Westphalia Treaty can be considered as the first international conference of the European states which ended Thirty Years War between Habsburgs and Bourbons in 1648. With this treaty, division of Holy Roman Empire into more than three hundred principalities was recognized and the position of France in the European continent strengthened. After Westphalia Treaty, formation of independent states in Europe accelerated.

Diplomatic instruments can be classified as bilateral diplomacy, multilateral diplomacy and summit diplomacy which will be discussed in this chapter in detail. All these instruments have different dynamics and rules, but they are not mutually exclusive. In other words, these instruments can be utilized separately as well as in conjunction with each other.

Similarly, diplomatic institutions can be broadly divided into three categories: ministry of foreign affairs, diplomatic missions and non-state actors. First professional ministry was established in France in the early 17th century. Ministry of foreign affairs is the core of diplomatic activities and until mid-1900s, it had the monopoly of formulating and

implementing foreign policies of states. However, with the emergence of new actors especially in the globalization era, its role and control in diplomacy eroded to the advantage of others, whereas ministry of foreign affairs is still a significant actor in diplomacy.

Diplomatic missions, on the other hand, are the oldest institutions of diplomacy. From the beginning of relations between states, diplomatic missions carried out policies of their rulers. Although its form changed from *ad hoc* to permanent diplomacy and its functions and structure evolved, diplomatic missions are important elements of relations between states. The Cold War was a turning point in diplomacy, so diplomatic missions were prioritized by the states as a result of the nuclear threat between 1945 and 1991. With the Vienna Convention in 1961, definitions, functions and immunities of diplomatic missions were specified.

Globalization resulted in the diversification of diplomatic institutions and changed functions and roles of ministries of foreign affairs and diplomatic missions. Non-state actors like non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and multinational companies (MNCs) were involved in diplomatic practices. Although the state and its institutions are at the center of diplomatic activities, the influence of non-state actors in international relations and diplomacy is indisputable.

Instruments and institutions of modern diplomacy will be discussed in this chapter in detail and three questions will be answered:

- 1) What are the origins of modern diplomacy?
- 2) What are the instruments of modern diplomacy?
- 3) What are the institutions of modern diplomacy?

ORIGINS AND EVOLUTION OF MODERN DIPLOMACY

Origins of modern diplomacy date back to Italian city states in the 14th century. The basic reason for the need to establish diplomatic relations between Italian city states was the limited amount of lands to rule. Therefore, they had to solve their problems peacefully in such an environment prone to warfare. As armies became more professional and the impact of war on these states got more severe, they had to find alternative ways to solve their problems without going into war. Moreover, the lack of outside pressure on the Italian peninsula

and the freedom of city states to conduct closer relations resulted in the formation of modern diplomacy with its institutions and instruments. Venice was the forerunner of this process and the main objectives of its rulers were self-preservation and development of their state. As opposed to the general view that religion and morality were the main dynamics of the establishment of diplomatic instruments and institutions in Italy, they were not the priorities of Italian rulers and there were more practical reasons for it. (Yurdusev, 11-12)

Besides Renaissance in the 14th century, Reformation which spread Europe from Germany after the 15th century played an important role in the formation of modern diplomacy because it accelerated the secularization of regimes and the formation of modern states in today's understanding. Similarly, Westphalia Treaty in 1648 which ended religious wars in Europe became a turning point in the formation of modern states and the evolution of modern diplomacy. After the Napoleonic wars, which shook Europe thoroughly, European states established the Concert of Europe system based on balance of power in 1815 which protected status quo, despite some regional wars, in Europe until WWI.

WWI was the first global mass mobilization and warfare in world history. More than ten million people died and wounded throughout the world and the necessity to establish a stable and long-lasting

diplomatic system came to the fore. After this brutal war, League of Nations (LoN) was formed in 1919 to protect world peace and security as well as to solve inter-state problems through diplomatic channels. Nevertheless, the failure of the LoN or Versailles system in which the victors of WWI imposed their peace conditions to the losers, particularly Germany, and the Great Depression in the late 1920s made all these efforts futile and paved the way for WWII. As a result of developing war technologies and rise of fascism, more than fifty million people died in WWII.

League of Nations

This institution was the predecessor of the United Nations which was established by the victorious states of WWI on January 10, 1920. The Great Britain, France, Italy and the United States were the main actors in this system. It was established to protect world peace and solve problems among states. However, due to its internal problems like strategies and policies of its main actors towards the losers of WWI, it became futile less than two decades. With its inability to prevent Italian invasion of Abyssinia, Japanese invasion of Manchuria and Nazi invasion of Austria and Czechoslovakia, the prestige of the institution dramatically decreased and these developments resulted in the eruption of WWII.

Concert of Europe

It is a system established in Europe with the Vienna Congress on the basis of balance of power strategy to protect status quo after Napoleonic Wars between 1800 and 1815. In the early 1800s, France under the leadership of Napoleon Bonaparte, who had declared his empire with the fall of Republican regime in France, was fighting with certain European states in order to expand its territories especially eastwards. With the defeat of Napoleon in Russia and Great Britain, European states decided to establish such a system in order to prevent the birth and rule of Napoleon-like figures and states. Concert of Europe system worked until the First World War (WWI) despite some regional conflicts and wars. However, with the polarization in the early 1900s, this system was replaced by alliances and divisions that paved the way for WWI.

Before WWII, diplomatic efforts to solve crises between states did not bear fruits, but the destruction of WWII and the Cold War between the US and the USSR lasted more than four decades in the shadow of nuclear arms forced states to find solutions to international problems through diplomatic channels. However, in these two WWs, diplomatic efforts were not neglected by the parties. Especially, during WWII, leaders of Allies came together in several conferences to decide their strategies and post-WWII world order. The Cold War was another turning point in the evolution of modern diplomacy. Despite the existence of nuclear threat stemmed from proliferation of nuclear weapons and the feeling of insecurity throughout the world, diplomacy became an integral part of

Cold War politics especially in the form of summit diplomacy between two superpowers. Therefore, diplomatic institutions and instruments have been professionalized since the beginning of the Cold War with the unprecedented development of globalization. Bilateral and multilateral negotiations and summits have jointly become the platform of inter-state relations. Institutionally, ministries of Foreign Affairs and diplomatic missions are still basic institutions of diplomacy. Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and Multi-National Companies (MNCs) have become essential parts of diplomacy in the global age.



your turn ¹

Discuss the international developments shaped the institutions and instruments of modern diplomacy?

INSTRUMENTS OF MODERN DIPLOMACY

Modern diplomacy is conducted through three main instruments: bilateral diplomacy, multilateral diplomacy and summit diplomacy. These instruments have evolved throughout history, so their dynamics have changed. More importantly, these instruments are not mutually exclusive. In other words, two or three of them can be utilized together.

- Bilateral Diplomacy

Bilateral diplomacy is the oldest form of diplomatic practice consisting of two states meeting to solve their problems. Its origins date back to ancient Greece, but after the 14th century, it was



Figure 5.1 Bilateral Meeting of US and Chinese Leaders

professionalized by the Italian city states. Especially, after the formation of modern states in the 17th

century, bilateral diplomacy became widespread starting from Europe. The French Revolution was a turning point in the evolution of bilateral diplomacy because secular nation states began to form and diplomacy became the main tool in conducting inter-state relations. Until the end of WWI, bilateral diplomacy kept its hegemony in the international relations. With WWI, multilateral diplomacy was introduced although there were some examples of it in the 19th century like the Vienna Congress in 1815 and Berlin Congress in 1878. First article of Wilson's Fourteen Points states that *"Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at, after which there shall be no private international understandings of any kind but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view."* In other words, there was no room for secret, bilateral diplomacy after WWI. Moreover, after the October Revolution in Russia in 1917, Bolsheviks denounced and disclosed all secret treaties signed before and during WWI. With the introduction of multilateral or conference diplomacy after WWI, bilateral diplomacy lost its hegemony in the international relations. Another reason for the rise of multilateral diplomacy was the complexity and intricacy of problems among states. The severity of WWI and its effects on political, economic, social and military structures of all states in the globe required multi-party solutions to global problems. However, bilateral diplomacy is still a part of diplomatic practice despite the rise of multilateral and summit diplomacies.

Bilateral diplomacy is conducted between two states, but, initially, these two states have to recognize each other to establish diplomatic missions and carry out diplomatic practice. Recognition means the acceptance of the existence of a state as an independent and sovereign entity in the international arena. Recognition consists two rights of a state: domestically it has to enjoy full sovereignty over its territories, internationally it has to be independent from any other state. Moreover, membership to the UN is another criterion for recognition. UN membership is an indicator of global recognition and today almost all states with full sovereignty and independence are members of UN. On the other hand, according to the second article of the Vienna Convention, which was accepted in 1961 and determines the rules, instruments and institutions of diplomacy, diplomatic relations between states have to be based on "mutual consent." Recognition is a part of "mutual consent", but recognition and diplomacy do not always go hand-in-hand. More clearly, states may recognize each other, but not

carry out diplomatic relations. For example, Turkish Republic recognized Armenia, but they don't conduct diplomatic relations. In addition, recognition of a state does not mean the recognition of its government. Recognition of a government is the acceptance of this government's control in the state apparatus currently and in the near future. (İskit, 210-211) Furthermore, there are two types of recognition: *de jure* and *de facto*. *De jure* recognition means recognizing a state with all legal results and conducting diplomatic relations with this state. On the contrary, in *de facto* a state accepts the existence of another state as a separate entity, but refrains from conducting diplomatic relations which may have legal results. For example, many states conduct *de facto* relations with Taiwan and carry out trade and economic relations although they do not *de jure* recognize it due to China. Similarly, Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (TRNC) is recognized only by Turkey, but some states carry out economic relations with TRNC.

- Multilateral Diplomacy



Figure 5.2 UN Meeting

diplomatic relations are mainly conducted through conferences and face-to-face interaction between leaders or missions of states. Its origins go back to Vienna Congress convened in 1815 after Napoleonic Wars when European powers came up with the idea of balance of power strategy which sustained peace in Europe until WWI. Multilateral diplomacy became popular in the 20th century because problems between states turned into global problems such as peace and security, environment, health, migration, etc. and international actors understood that such problems had to be negotiated and solved through multilateral diplomacy. The rise of democracy and its ideals after WWII resulted in the democratization of diplomacy and diplomatic practices. More importantly, the accountability of states to their domestic public opinion as well as world public opinion necessitated the establishment of the instruments and institutions of multilateral diplomacy. As a result, multilateral conferences or organizations aim to provide the support of all parties in the solution of global problems which require support and initiative of all sides.

There are many advantages of multilateral conferences like focusing on specific issues and motivating the parties to find a solution or reach an agreement in a limited period of time. As a result of collaboration among participants, it develops closer relations between states. Finding a solution or reaching an agreement is beneficial for all parties because it increases their prestige and popularity. Due to the limited period of time, multilateral conferences force parties to focus on specific issues and come up with solutions. (İskit, 307-308) On the other hand, multilateral conferences are used by powerful states to make their propaganda as dominant

United Nations

This institution was created by the victorious states of WWII which defeated Fascism and its expansionist policies. Main actors in the UN are the United States, Russia (formerly the Soviet Union), the Great Britain, France and China. The basic objective of the UN is to protect sovereignty of its member states and world peace. However, when the crises and regional wars in the world since its establishment are taken into consideration, it can be securely argued that the UN has reached its aims far from ideally. This stems from its internal problems like the veto rights of the permanent members of the Security Council. (five states stated above) Especially during the Cold War, it became a leverage between superpowers to legitimize their actions and put pressure on each other. Today, the UN has about two hundred members and it has various branches like UNICEF (UN Children's Fund), UNESCO (UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), WFP (World Food Programme), etc. dealing with certain world problems.

Multilateral diplomacy is literally defined as diplomatic relations between more than two states. It is also known as "conference diplomacy" or "parliamentary diplomacy" because multilateral

states in the international arena as well as drawing the attention of all states to global problems such as environmental and economic issues. Joining such conferences and organizations increase the prestige of participants. On the contrary, states not joining these multilateral entities may lose their prestige and the right to have a say in ultimate decisions. Non-participating states may suffer from the decisions made against them in these conferences. Therefore, all the states having an interest in such meetings push hard for participation. Furthermore, multilateral diplomacy provides a medium for the development of bilateral relations because through bilateral meetings or social events during multilateral conferences such as NATO and EU meetings, heads or missions of states may develop their contacts and relations. Lastly, multilateral conferences may ensure compliance with agreements or decisions made by the states better than bilateral ones due to the pressure of other states and world public opinion. Consequently, multilateral diplomacy has several advantages and it is a common tool of diplomacy today. It is mainly conducted under the umbrella of multilateral organizations flourished in the second half of the 20th century such as UN, NATO, NAFTA and ASEAN.

Historically, WWI was a turning point in the development of multilateral organizations. After WWI, Entente powers which defeated the Central Powers agreed on the establishment of a multilateral organization to protect world peace and collective security. In addition, they sought for creating a basis for solution of problems via discussion among states. As a result, League of Nations (LoN) was established in 1920 to provide such a basis for multilateralism. However, it can be regarded as a primitive form of UN under the hegemony of Western powers. Due to its internal problems and changes in the global conjuncture such as the rise of fascism and Great Depression in the 1930s, LoN did not fulfill the expectations and prevent member states from fighting with each other. After brutal and bloody WWII, the Allies agreed on the establishment of a multilateral structure and UN was established with the Atlantic Charter in San Francisco Conference in 1945.

United Nations was established to consolidate democratic ideals of the Allies, to protect world peace and collective security, to sustain economic development and to find solutions to global problems. It was established by 51 states, but today

it has 193 members. (www.un.org) UN consists of six main bodies: General Assembly, Security Council, Economic and Social Council, Trusteeship Council, International Court of Justice and Secretariat. Except International Court of Justice in Hague, other bodies of UN are in New York. Major functional bodies of the UN are General Assembly and Security Council. General Assembly comprises of all UN members and each state has one vote for the decisions. General Assembly focuses on issues such as “considering and approving the United Nations budget and establishing the financial assessments of Member States; electing the non-permanent members of the Security Council and the members of other United Nations councils and organs, on the recommendation of the Security Council appointing the Secretary-General; considering and making recommendations on the general principles of cooperation for maintaining international peace and security, including disarmament; discussing any question relating to international peace and security and, except where a dispute or situation is currently being discussed by the Security Council, making recommendations on it; discussing, with the same exception, and making recommendations on any questions within the scope of the Charter or affecting the powers and functions of any organ of the United Nations; initiating studies and making recommendations to promote international political cooperation, the development and codification of international law, the realization of human rights and fundamental freedoms, and international collaboration in the economic, social, humanitarian, cultural, educational and health fields; making recommendations for the peaceful settlement of any situation that might impair friendly relations among countries; considering reports from the Security Council and other United Nations organs.” (UN Charter, Articles 10-17) Decisions are made in the General Assembly by majority system. Major decisions such as the ones related to peace and security or election of non-permanent members to Security Council requires two-thirds majority. Other issues require simple majority.

Security Council mainly deals with issues related to international peace and security such as “maintaining international peace and security in accordance with the principles and purposes of the United Nations; investigating any dispute or situation which might lead to international friction, recommending methods

of adjusting such disputes or the terms of settlement; formulating plans for the establishment of a system to regulate armaments; determining the existence of a threat to the peace or act of aggression and to recommend what action should be taken; calling on Members to apply economic sanctions and other measures not involving the use of force to prevent or stop aggression; taking military action against an aggressor; recommending the admission of new Members; exercising the trusteeship functions of the United Nations in “strategic areas”; recommending to the General Assembly the appointment of the Secretary General and, together with the Assembly, to elect the Judges of the International Court of Justice” (UN Charter, Articles 24-26) and it has power of enforcement. There are two types of membership to the Security Council: permanent membership and non-permanent membership. Permanent members comprised of the US, the UK, Russia, France and China which have veto rights sometimes causing deadlock during negotiations. The structure of Security Council causes unrest among other members due to the lack of power balance within this structure.

On the other hand, Economic and Social Council deals with “making or initiating studies and reports with respect to international economic, social, cultural, educational, health, and related matters and making recommendations with respect to any such matters to the General Assembly to the Members of the United Nations, and to the specialized agencies concerned, making recommendations for the purpose of promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, preparing draft conventions for submission to the General Assembly, with respect to matters falling within its competence, calling international conferences on matters falling within its competence in accordance with the rules prescribed by the United Nations” (UN Charter, Articles 62-66)); Trusteeship Council deals with “considering reports submitted by the administering authority, accepting petitions and examine them in consultation with the administering authority, providing for periodic visits to the respective trust territories at times agreed upon with the administering authority and taking these and other actions in conformity with the terms of the trusteeship agreements” (UN Charter, Articles 87-88); International Court of Justice deals with disputes between member states and its decisions are

binding for member states; and Secretariat deals with “bringing to the attention of the Security Council any matter which in his opinion may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security”. The head of Secretariat is the Secretary General elected by General Assembly upon the recommendation of Security Council. Besides its main bodies, UN has subsidiary organs such as United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), World Health Organization (WHO), Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO), United Nations International Children’s Emergency Fund (UNICEF) and United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). As global problems diversified, ranging from protection of world peace and collective security to health problems, starvation, refugees and so on, and the problem of sustainability appeared, the number of missions and bodies of UN increased. Each body has a specific mission and provides a medium of negotiation and discussion in specific issues.

UN is the basic global instrument of multilateral diplomacy in which almost all sovereign and independent states take part. However, instruments of multilateral diplomacy are not limited to this global organization. International-regional organizations and functional organizations are other instruments of multilateral diplomacy and they are categorized in terms of their missions, functions and the level of cooperation among its members. The number of members in organizations with different missions is more than the ones with limited objectives. Organizations like Islamic Conference Organization, Arab League, Commonwealth and ASEAN have several missions such as economic and social cooperation as well as political and cultural solidarity among its members. Alliance organizations like NATO, CENTO and Warsaw Pact unite their members to reach a common objective. Such organizations aim to protect their members against external threats, particularly military, as well as cooperation in military and political areas. They also focus on political, economic, social and humanitarian issues which may pose a threat to peace and stability in their region. For example, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) was established by the US in 1949 as a military alliance against the communist threat to the North Atlantic area, but its scope expanded as the perception of communist threat got more serious. Likewise, Warsaw Pact was established

by the Soviet Union to unite all communist countries in the Soviet sphere of influence against capitalist expansionism and consolidate Soviet hegemony over other members. Last group of international regional organizations was functional organizations like EFTA, NAFTA and OECD. These entities unite states around their economic, social and political objectives rather than security purposes. The main characteristic of member states in such organizations is their geographical position. In other words, member states of these organizations generally share the same geographical location.

In addition to global and international-regional organizations, ad hoc meetings are instruments of multilateral diplomacy. *Ad hoc* meetings can be divided into two groups: meetings about issues threatening peace and security and meetings about technical issues. Meetings on peace and security are primarily organized by international or regional powers. Invitation to such meetings is important in the sense that it is the recognition of that state as a party in the ultimate solution or that state has interests regarding the meeting. Moreover, joining such meetings is prestigious for the participant state. On the other hand, meetings about technical issues are generally organized by the state interested in the solution of the problem and ready to bear the expenses and administrative responsibility of the meeting. Such meetings are organized to negotiate and, if possible, solve environmental issues, water or transportation problems between two or more states. (İskit, 327-329)

Procedures of negotiations in multilateral organizations and meetings are different from bilateral meetings in the sense that bilateral negotiations are based on rules and procedures jointly decided by the parties before or during the meeting. On the other hand, multilateral negotiations are carried out on the basis of procedures written on the charter or covenant of the organization. For example, procedures of negotiations in the UN are included in the UN Charter. Furthermore, solutions or agreements reached in multilateral negotiations may be based on "minimum common interest" of all sides. Therefore, negotiators have to consider many different positions and interests during negotiations, so participants in multilateral negotiations reach a conclusion in the medium or long term, while negotiators in bilateral meetings may reach conclusions or solutions even during their negotiations. Another result of the

complexity of multilateral negotiations can be seen in voting procedures of multilateral organizations. In such organizations like the UN, voting procedures are written in the charter of the organization and the main criterion for this establishment is the difficulty of making decisions with a lot of parties having different positions and interests. In addition, there is a distinction in voting procedures between substantial issues and procedural issues. Some decisions in multilateral organizations are taken by simple majority (50%+1), while some decisions require qualified majority (2/3, 3/4). (İskit, 331, 339)

Consequently, multilateral diplomacy can be regarded as a diplomatic instrument allowing more states than bilateral and summit diplomacies to participate in decision making mechanisms of global or regional issues. It became popular after WWII although it was originated from the Vienna Congress in 1815 due to the diversification of problems in this period. At the beginning, the main issue in the agenda of world politics was the preservation of peace and collective security. However, as new problems emerged ranging from environment and human rights to starvation and health, the scope of multilateral negotiations and organizations expanded. There are different types of multilateral meetings and organizations such as global organizations, international-regional organizations, *ad hoc* meetings and so on. These diplomatic instruments have different dynamics and procedures from bilateral diplomacy. Although more states are covered by these entities, the balance of power in these systems and the hegemony of powerful states are still posing threats to the success of these instruments. However, when bilateral diplomacy and summit diplomacy are taken into consideration, multilateral diplomacy can be regarded as more democratic than the others.

Summit Diplomacy

Summit diplomacy traces back to Middle Ages when the territories of monarchs were regarded as their own properties. In order to solve their problems or develop their relations, monarchs were meeting regularly. (İskit, 334-335) With the formation of modern nation states, the decline of monarchies and the establishment of modern diplomatic missions, diplomatic practices began to be carried out by professionals. However, WWI was a turning point in the rise of summit diplomacy as a result the decrease in trust to professional diplomats due to their inability to prevent such a global war and summit diplomacy

became widespread. During the Paris Conference right after the war, heads of the allied states' governments dominated the agenda and developments. US President Woodrow Wilson, UK Prime Minister Lloyd George, French Prime Minister George Clemenceau and Italian Prime Minister Vittorio Orlando dominated the process of the establishment of post-WWI world order called Versailles System. In Paris Peace Conference, foundations of the League of Nations (LoN) were laid and the organization was established in 1920. However, the internal problems of this system paved the way for WWII which ended between 1939 and 1945.



Figure 5.3 G-8 Summit

At the end of WWII, Allies defeated fascist regimes constituted the Axis and post-WWII world order was discussed and determined via Summit Diplomacy again. US President Franklin D. Roosevelt, UK Prime Minister Winston Churchill and Soviet leader Joseph Stalin came together during and after WWII. The beginning of the Cold War right after WWII caused Summit Diplomacy to become popular among great powers because of the nuclear threat and irreversible character of such a war. US and Soviet leaders occasionally met to discuss the fate of the Cold War and nuclear arms race. The first summit was convened between US President Dwight Eisenhower and Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev in Geneva in 1955 to appease the tension between two superpowers. Their successors kept on meeting and especially in the 1960s and 1970s, summits like SALT (Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty) and START (Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty), aiming the limitation and reduction of strategic nuclear arms, were the basic instruments of discussion between the US and USSR. All-in-all, summit diplomacy has become an influential tool of diplomacy since the Cold War. In the meantime, the scope of summit diplomacy expanded and multilateral summits began to be

organized. First convened in Rambouillet in 1975 with the participation of the United States, France, Germany, the Great Britain, Japan, Canada and Italy, G-7 summit is an important example of summit diplomacy. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and end of the Cold War, Russia joined this group. G-8 summits are annual meetings of member states. Similarly, ASEAN (Association of South East Asian Nations) summits are organized triennially.

Summit diplomacy has some advantages and disadvantages. First of all, they have symbolic power as the meeting of heads of states which enable them to use these summits as their propaganda tools to maximize the interests of their states. On the other hand, presidents or prime ministers are ultimate authorities in the decision making mechanism, so revision of their decisions in summits are difficult to change. The lack of a changing mechanism for their decisions is a problem because generally leaders don't know details of policies. In addition, they may have some positive or negative biases misleading their opinions and decisions about their counterparts. Therefore, these personal problems or biases may cause some problems and crises. On the contrary, leaders may have close relations with their counterparts which may cause the ignorance of national interests and they may make some decisions or treaties conflicting their state's interests. (İskit, 336)

Summits can be categorized into three groups: regular summits, *ad hoc* summits and high-level meetings. (İskit, 338-342) Regular summits provide basis for negotiations, but their success is based on the frequency and duration. Frequently organized and long meetings enable the participants to reach some conclusions and solve problems. Moreover, due to the length of such meetings, there is room for re-negotiation unless parties don't reach a conclusion in the first trial. In time, as these summits are regularly convened, their principles are specified and their efficiency increases. More importantly, regular meetings allow leaders to prepare before sessions and learn details of issues discussed in these meetings as well as characteristics and tendencies of their counterparts. Summits are effective tools to conclude negotiations discussed in international forums successfully. In order to reach conclusions satisfactory for both sides, leaders push hard for succeed in these summits, so the "diplomatic momentum" between two summits continues. Regular meetings of European Union (EU) leaders are important examples of these meetings. *Ad hoc* summits, on the

other hand, are convened to solve specific problems or discuss specific issues as well as to create diplomatic momentum. Camp David meetings in 1978 led by Jimmy Carter to discuss peace settlement between Egypt and Israel with the participation of Egyptian leader Anwar Sadat and Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin can be regarded as an example of *ad hoc* summit. After twelve days of negotiations, both sides agreed on signing a peace agreement. Main objective of an *ad hoc* summit is to create a symbolic milestone for solution of a specific problem between states. Another example of *ad hoc* summits is funeral ceremonies of leaders. In these summits, leaders and their missions meet and discuss certain issues as well as develop their relations. Lastly, high-level meetings can be defined as meetings of leaders within the context of their official visits. Especially, newly elected leaders visit foreign countries and meet their counterparts. Such visits provide information about policies and characteristics and opinions of their counterparts. In addition, leaders aim at developing friendly relations and economic relations with the host country.

To sum up, like bilateral and multilateral diplomacy, summit diplomacy is an important instrument of modern diplomacy. However, it needs to be underlined that these instruments are not mutually-exclusive. In other words, summit diplomacy can be used as a part of bilateral

or multilateral diplomacy. Like bilateral and multilateral diplomacy, summit diplomacy has some advantages and disadvantages. The efficiency of these diplomatic instruments depend on the power and capabilities of states as well as the institutions using these instruments. Diplomatic missions, ministries of foreign affairs and non-state actors such as non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and multi-national companies (MNCs) are basic institutions of modern diplomacy.

NGO

These are non-profit, voluntary citizens' organizations acting on national, regional or international levels out of the jurisdiction of states. They provide monitoring for the implementation of decisions and treaties on various issues ranging from environment to human rights.



your turn ²

Discuss the basic instruments of modern diplomacy



Further Reading

How to fix the United Nations?

As we pass the 70th anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, and approach the appointment of the next U.N. secretary-general for the decade ahead, we need to consider afresh the institution's future, its relevance to the global challenges of our time, and what changes are necessary to ensure its long-term future.

First, the U.N. matters. In fact, because it is such an embedded part of the postwar order, it matters a lot. So much so that if it were to fail, falter, or just fade away, this would further erode the stability of an already fragile global order. Our current order faces new, mounting,

and compounding challenges unlike any we have seen in a quarter of a century. Along with a rapid deterioration in U.S.-Russia and U.S.-China relations (accompanied by a new strategic rapprochement between Moscow and Beijing), we face a humanitarian refugee crisis, an ongoing war in Syria and Ukraine, and a range of growing security challenges across East Asia.

There have been even more profound transformations in global geo-economics, where China is now the world's second-largest economy and, despite recent slower growth, is soon to become the largest — supplanting the United States after more than 150 years of global economic dominance.

In the meantime, Europe's economy has yet to emerge from a decade of stagnation and where European politics, both regionally and nationally, represent a continuing drag on a robust future. Beyond these emerging global fault lines threatening traditional patterns of stability, we are also seeing the rise of a new generation of lethal non-state actors, principally in the form of violent jihadism, who reject the state-based system, actively seek to destroy it, and operate entirely outside the already flimsy fabric of international law.

To add to the new complexities facing the current global order, we are also witnessing another wave of challenges generated by accelerating and increasingly unpredictable dynamics of globalization. On the one hand, this is generating new demands for more effective global governance to deal with "the globalization of everything." At the same time, globalization is also unleashing dangerous new political, economic, and social counterforces from those that are not benefiting from the globalization project of the last quarter of a century, manifesting as a potent cocktail of nationalism, protectionism, and xenophobia. These forces, in turn, are beginning to threaten the fabric of the current order in new ways, and at multiple levels, as conflicting constituencies simultaneously demand of their governments both more and less globalization.

Taken together, we seem to be approaching a new global tipping point that departs from the comfortable assumptions of recent decades that the dynamics of greater global integration were somehow both benign and unstoppable. So when we are seeing the emergence of new forces that threaten to pull the world apart, the very institutions the international community established to bring the world together through cooperative forms of global governance should be more important than ever. Yet the uncomfortable truth is that these institutions have never been weaker. We see this with the World Trade Organization, which has struggled unsuccessfully for more than a decade to bring about a new trade round; the International Monetary Fund, which despite its charter could not handle the global financial crisis and had to yield to the creation of a new, non-multilateral institution (the G-20) as the premium organization of global financial economic governance; and the U.N. itself, where institutions are rarely empowered by member states to deal effectively with major global challenges.

After 70 years, the U.N. has become so "factored in" to the international order that we are barely conscious of the stabilizing role it plays in setting broad parameters for the conduct of international

relations. We tend to take the U.N. for granted. We see it as a comfortable part of the international furniture

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While the U.N. today is not broken, it is in trouble. Many fear it is starting to drift into irrelevance as states increasingly avoid the U.N. on the most important questions facing the international community, seeking substantive solutions elsewhere. Many are concerned that the U.N. is being overwhelmed by the major systemic changes and challenges now buffeting the global order. The U.N. has a 20th-century institutional structure and culture that is struggling to adapt to these new 21st-century realities. And if it fails to adapt, the U.N. will slowly slide into the shadowlands.

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we need a U.N. whose inherent legitimacy and universality are reaffirmed by a formal political recommitment to the fundamental principles of multilateralism by member states. We need a U.N. that structurally integrates its peace and security, sustainable development, and human rights agendas as a strategic continuum, rather than leaving them as the self-contained, institutional silos of the past. We need a U.N. that helps build bridges between the great powers, particularly at a time of rising great-power tensions. We need a U.N. with a robust policy-planning capability, looking into the future several years out, not just at the crises of the day. We need a U.N. that embraces a comprehensive doctrine of prevention, rather than just reaction, that is directly reflected in the organization's leadership structure, culture, and resources. We need a U.N. in the field that finally resolves the problem of its rigid institutional silos by moving increasingly to integrated, multidisciplinary teams to deal with specific challenges. We need a U.N. driven by the measurement of results, not just the elegance of its processes.

We need a U.N. where women are at the center of the totality of its agenda, not just parts of it, so that their full human potential can be realized as a matter of social justice, and because to fail to do so

would further undermine peace, security, development, and human rights. We need a U.N. where young people have their voices heard at the center of the U.N.'s councils, not simply as a paternalistic afterthought, to help shape a future of genuine hope for the more than 3 billion people today under 25 years old. We need a U.N. that is relevant to the new, emerging, critical global policy agendas of the future, not just those of the past, including effectively countering terrorism and violent extremism, enhancing cybersecurity, constraining lethal autonomous weapons systems, dealing with the inadequate enforcement of international humanitarian law for the wars of the future, and developing a comprehensive approach to planetary boundaries beyond climate change, particularly for our oceans. We need a U.N. that can efficiently, effectively, and flexibly act within the reality imposed by ongoing budgetary constraints, rather than just hoping that the fiscal heavens will one day magically reopen, because they won't.

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For the U.N. to have a robust future in delivering results that are directly relevant to the challenges of the international community, we must actively engage in a process of continually reinventing the institution.

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So what can be done?

There is a rational basis for optimism about the U.N.'s future. But overcoming inertia requires effort. Nor should we succumb to a type of fashionable pessimism that substantive change is too hard. The truth is that while the challenges the U.N. faces are real; the answers really do lie within our grasp — if we can deploy the collective political will to make change happen.

Source: Kevin Rudd – Foreign Policy

<http://foreignpolicy.com/2016/09/19/how-to-fix-the-united-nations/>

INSTITUTIONS OF MODERN DIPLOMACY

States are still major actors of diplomacy despite erosion of their jurisdiction as a result of globalization. In addition, they establish two main institutions to carry out their diplomatic activities: ministry of foreign affairs and diplomatic missions working under the control of these ministerial structures. On the other hand, as a result of globalization, some non-state actors have involved in diplomatic practice, yet the dominance of ministry of foreign affairs in the implementation of diplomacy still continues.



Figure 5.4 Turkish Ministry of Foreign Affairs

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Ministry of foreign affairs is the main body in the state apparatus responsible for the

formulation and implementation of foreign policy. It consists of the ministerial structure and diplomatic missions. The first ministry of foreign affairs in today's understanding was established in France in the 1620s by Cardinal Richelieu after three centuries from the establishment of modern diplomatic missions. With the formation of modern nation states in the 19th century, ministry of foreign affairs kept the monopoly of conducting foreign relations. In time, formulation and implementation of foreign relations by the ministry professionalized and its scope expanded. Ministry of foreign affairs have different names in different countries like Foreign Office in the UK and State Department in the US. Until the second half of the 20th century, ministry of foreign affairs preserved its hegemony in foreign policy. However, with the acceleration of globalization in the second half of the 20th century and the diversification of issues in foreign relations heavily influenced the monopoly of ministry. As summit diplomacy and direct contact between heads of governments became widespread and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and multinational companies (MNCs) took part in foreign relations, ministry lost its monopoly in the foreign policy.

Today, ministry of foreign affairs is mainly responsible for the coordination of foreign policy rather than formulation and implementation of foreign policy only by itself. However, ministry of foreign affairs still plays an important role in the implementation of foreign policy because it is the main body in the state apparatus having such experience and professional staff in foreign policy issues. In the same vein, ministry of foreign affairs is responsible for establishment of diplomatic missions in foreign countries as well as recruitment and training of diplomatic personnel. In addition, it is responsible for appointment and settlement of the diplomatic personnel as well as buying or renting, protecting and maintaining assets of diplomatic missions in foreign countries. Therefore, there are several branches responsible for such activities in ministry of foreign affairs. Functions of ministry is not limited to the implementation of foreign policy and establishment of diplomatic missions. It also gives consultation to statesmen and conducts relations with the diplomats of foreign countries. More importantly, ministry is responsible for the promotion and propaganda abroad on behalf of the state. (İskit, 344-345)

In order to effectively formulate and implement foreign policy, memory of ministry of foreign affairs should be strong. In other words, archives have to be regularly and systematically registered in foreign ministry. Therefore, there are certain branches responsible for the registration, protection and maintenance of diplomatic correspondence such as agreements, reports and letters in ministries of foreign affairs. As the branch for archives, ministries have legal branches controlling compliance of agreements with international and domestic laws. Lastly, ministry of foreign affairs has a political branch making proposals or warnings regarding foreign policy of a state. Political branch is an important part of ministry in order to conduct proactive policies rather than reactive ones in such a world changing dramatically day-by-day.

All-in-all, ministry of foreign affairs is still the most important institution of foreign policy despite the erosion of its authority with the emergence of new actors in foreign policy issues as a result of integration of economic, military, social and cultural issues to the scope of its action. However, implementation of foreign policy decisions taken by the state is still carried out by the professionals of

ministry of foreign affairs and diplomatic missions are the most important actors in this process.



Figure 5.5 An Embassy Building

- Diplomatic Missions

Diplomatic missions are main components of diplomacy acting on behalf of their state in the state they are accredited to. Origins of diplomatic missions go back to *ad hoc* diplomacy period in which states were conducting foreign relations through temporary missions and envoys rather than establishing resident embassies. *Ad hoc* diplomacy was replaced by permanent diplomacy and its instruments and institutions as modern states began to form especially after the 14th century starting with Italy. Functions of diplomatic missions evolved in time as dynamics, instruments and institutions of diplomacy changed. Today, there are different levels of diplomatic representation and diplomatic missions have several functions and immunities. Definitions, functions and immunities of diplomatic missions and diplomats were specified and systematized by UN with the Vienna Convention, consisting 53 articles, in 1961. Rules and principles of Vienna Convention are still valid and constitute the basis of diplomatic relations.

First of all, according to the 2nd Article of the convention, diplomatic relations between two states are established by mutual consent. In other words, two states have to be willing to conduct diplomatic relations. In addition, both states have to agree on the person as the head of the diplomatic mission. The sending state has to take the approval of the receiving state through *agrément* for the person accredited to the receiving state. On the other hand, the receiving state is not obliged to make an explanation in case of the refusal of *agrément*. (Vienna Convention, 4th Article) Furthermore,

the receiving state has the right to declare the head of mission or a member of diplomatic staff as *persona non grata* (unwanted person) in any time and without an obligation to make an explanation. In such cases, the sending state has to recall this person or terminate his functions in the mission. (Vienna Convention, 9th Article) Diplomatic missions act under the jurisdiction of the ministry of foreign affairs. According to the 10th Article of the convention, the ministry is responsible for “the appointment of members of the mission, their arrival and their final departure or the termination of their functions with the mission; the arrival and final departure of a person belonging to the family of a member of the mission and, where appropriate, the fact that a person becomes or ceases to be a member of the family of a member of the mission; the arrival and final departure of private servants in the employ of persons referred to in subparagraph (a) and, where appropriate, the fact that they are leaving the employ of such persons; the engagement and discharge of people resident in the receiving State as members of the mission or private servants entitled to privileges and immunities.”

The 1st article of the convention defines diplomatic personnel. According to this article, the “head of the mission is the person charged by the sending State with the duty of acting in that capacity”, the “members of the mission consist of the head of the mission and the members of the staff in a mission”; the “members of the staff of the mission are the administrative, technical and service staff in a mission; the “members of the diplomatic staff are the members of the staff in a mission coming from diplomatic ranks; a “diplomatic agent is the head of the mission or a member of the diplomatic staff of the mission”; the “members of the administrative and technical staff are the members of the staff employed in the administrative and technical service of the mission”; the “members of the service staff are the members of the staff in a mission employed for the domestic service of the mission”; a “private servant is a person in the domestic service of a member of the mission, but not an employee of the sending State” and, lastly, the “premises of the mission are the buildings or parts of buildings and the land ancillary, thereto, irrespective of ownership, used for the purposes of the mission including the residence of the head of the mission”. Shortly,

diplomatic personnel have several ranks and consist of both diplomatic agents and technical staff. Like diplomatic personnel, there are three types of heads of diplomatic mission: ambassadors or nuncios; envoys, ministers or internuncios and chargés d'affaires. Ambassadors or nuncios are accredited to heads of state or other heads of mission of equivalent rank; envoys, ministers and internuncios are accredited to heads of state and chargés d'affaires are accredited to ministers of foreign affairs. In case of the inability of ambassador or nuncio, chargés d'affaires may act as the head of mission. This classification also shows the strength and intimacy of diplomatic relations because generally ambassadors are the heads of missions in the states having friendly and close relations and representation by chargés d'affaires can be regarded as a lower level representation.

Functions of diplomatic missions are defined in the 3rd article of Vienna Convention. Accordingly, diplomatic missions are responsible for “representing the sending State in the receiving State; protecting the interests of the sending State and its nationals in the receiving State within the limits of the international law; negotiating with the Government of the receiving State on behalf of his government; ascertaining by all lawful means conditions and developments in the receiving State, and reporting to his government; promoting friendly relations between the sending State and the receiving State, and developing their economic, cultural and scientific relations.” Duties specified in the convention are similar to the functions of envoys or agents of *ad hoc* diplomacy. However, as international relations diversified, functions of diplomatic missions got more complex. For example, protection of sending's states and its nationals' interests can be divided into two because these functions are carried out by different staff in the same mission. Top representative of the sending state in the receiving one is the ambassador and he is mainly responsible for the protection of the sending state's interests. On the other hand, consuls and consulates are mainly responsible for the protection of sending state's nationals' rights in the receiving state. As well as protecting rights of the nationals of the sending state, consulates issue passport, travel document and visa to these people. Moreover, they act as notary for proceedings of nationals of the sending state and the former represents the latter on behalf of legal bodies in the

receiving state. Consulates are also responsible for proceedings of ships with the flag of sending state and planes and their control. Despite the division of labor between embassies and consulates, the latter acts dependently on the former and the ambassador is the ultimate authority of consul's and consulate's actions.

Diplomatic missions and diplomats act under the protection of immunities granted by the Vienna Convention. There are two types of immunities: immunities of missions and immunities of diplomats. Articles 22nd to 28th regulate immunities of diplomatic missions. In accordance with these articles, "the premises of the mission shall be inviolable. The agents of the receiving State may not enter them, except with the consent of the head of the mission". More importantly, it is the responsibility of the receiving state to protect the premises of the diplomatic mission. "The premises of the mission, their furnishings and other property thereon and the means of transport of the mission shall be immune from search, requisition, attachment or execution." (Vienna Convention, Article 22/3) "The sending State and the head of the mission shall be exempt from all national, regional or municipal dues and taxes in respect of the premises of the mission, whether owned or leased, other than such as represent payment for specific services rendered. The exemption from taxation referred to in this article shall not apply to such dues and taxes payable under the law of the receiving State by persons contracting with the sending State or the head of the mission." (Vienna Convention, Article 23) Furthermore, archives and documents of the sending state's mission are inviolable (Vienna Convention, Article 24) and "the receiving State shall permit and protect free communication on the part of the mission for all official purposes. In communicating with the Government and the other missions and consulates of the sending State, wherever situated, the mission may employ all appropriate means, including diplomatic couriers and messages in code or cipher. However, the mission may install and use a wireless transmitter only with the consent of the receiving State. The official correspondence of the mission shall be inviolable. Official correspondence means all correspondence relating to the mission and its functions. The diplomatic bag shall not be opened or detained and the packages constituting the

diplomatic bag must bear visible external marks of their character and may contain only diplomatic documents or articles intended for official use. The diplomatic courier, who shall be provided with an official document indicating his status and the number of packages constituting the diplomatic bag, shall be protected by the receiving State in the performance of his functions. He shall enjoy person inviolability and shall not be liable to any form of arrest or detention." (Vienna Convention, Article 27)

Like diplomatic missions, diplomats have certain immunities and exemptions. The receiving state is responsible for protecting his inviolable immunities, freedom and dignity. Under normal conditions, diplomats cannot be arrested or detained. (Vienna Convention, Article 29) However, if a diplomat is involved in "a real action relating to private immovable property situated in the territory of the receiving State, unless he holds it on behalf of the sending State for the purposes of the mission; an action relating to succession in which the diplomatic agent is involved as executor, administrator, heir or legatee as a private person and not on behalf of the sending State; an action relating to any professional or commercial activity exercised by the diplomatic agent in the receiving State outside his official functions." (Vienna Convention, Article 31) Moreover, diplomats are exempt from all personal, municipal, regional and national taxes except some of them. (Vienna Convention, Articles 34-36)

Immunities granted by the receiving state are limited to the missions of diplomats and they enjoy these immunities, under normal conditions, to the end of their office. When the functions of a diplomat come to an end, "these privileges and immunities shall normally cease at the moment when he leaves the country, or on expiry of a reasonable period in which to do so, but shall subsist until that time, even in case of armed conflict. However, with respect to acts performed by such a person in the exercise of his functions as a member of the mission, immunity shall continue to subsist. In case of the death of a member of the mission, the members of his family shall continue to enjoy the privileges and immunities to which they are entitled until the expiry of a reasonable period in which to leave the country. In the event of the death of a member

of the mission not a national of or permanently resident in the receiving State or a member of his family forming part of his household, the receiving State shall permit the withdrawal of the movable property of the deceased, with the exception of any property acquired in the country the export of which was prohibited at the time of his death. Estate, succession and inheritance duties shall not be levied on movable property the presence of which in the receiving State was due solely to the presence there of the deceased as a member of the mission or as a member of the family of a member of the mission.” (Vienna Convention, Article 39) Diplomats should act accordingly with the laws and regulations of the receiving state and they cannot use their diplomatic positions for their personal benefits. (Vienna Convention, Articles 41-42) There are two types of the end of diplomatic mission for a diplomatic agent: the sending state may call the agent back or the receiving state may declare that it does not recognize the agent as a member of sending state’s mission (Vienna Convention, Article 43) On the other hand, if relations between two states deteriorate, a diplomatic mission or a diplomatic agent ceases its duties. However, even in case of war, the receiving state must grant immunities and privileges to the moment that diplomats and their families leave the state. Moreover, the receiving state, even in case of armed conflict, must protect the premises, properties and archives of the diplomatic mission of the sending state. In return, the sending state may entrust the custody of the premises of the mission, together with its property and archives, to a third State acceptable to the receiving State; and it may entrust the protection of its interests and those of its nationals to a third State acceptable to the receiving State.” (Vienna Convention, Articles 44-45)

All-in-all, diplomatic missions and diplomats have certain immunities and exemptions granted by the Vienna Convention and states carry out their diplomatic relations on the basis of these principles. On the other hand, institutions of diplomacy are not limited to state actors like the ministry of foreign affairs and diplomatic missions. Recently, some non-state actors have

involved in diplomacy with the diversification of issues regarding diplomacy.

- Non-State Actors



Figure 5.6 ANGOs

Globalization has blurred boundaries between nation states especially for the last three decades. Free flow of goods, capital and especially people in a world with diminishing boundaries is regarded as a threat to sovereignty and independence of national states because such developments cause erosion in the jurisdiction of a state. This trend has some repercussions in foreign policy and implementation because the state and its institutions are not the only authority influencing states' foreign policy. As a result of globalization process, new actors emerged such as NGOs and MNCs and the role of these actors in international relations is regularly increasing.

NGOs are non-governmental and non-profit organizations interested in global problems such as global warming, pollution, human rights, children's rights, health problems, refugees and so on. These entities are organizing campaigns in these issues and aiming to consolidate and influence world public opinion. As global problems get more complex, NGOs become more influential. They are independent from governments and donated by individuals rather than states. For example, Human Rights Watch (HRW) is an NGO interested in violations of human rights in different parts of the world. Missions of HRW are monitoring, reporting and following-

up violations of human rights such as refugees, detainees, academicians and journalists. On the other hand, Greenpeace is an NGO interested in environmental issues. It is again monitoring and reporting global environmental problems such as pollution, global warming, protection of forests and environmental sustainability. Greenpeace is also organizing campaigns to increase global awareness to environmental issues and threats as well as consolidating world public opinion as a pressure on national states. Similarly, Doctors Without Borders is an NGO interested in health problems and it is organizing campaigns about treatment of diseases around the world. Again it is donated by individuals, but not by states. The number of NGOs is increasing because global problems are getting more severe and complex. More importantly, NGOs are taken by global institutions like UN seriously because the issues they focus are common problems of humanity. Despite their limited impact on nation states, NGOs can be regarded as institutions of foreign policy today.

On the other hand, globalization resulted in transformation of rules and tools of world economy. Free flow of goods and capital through certain channels created some companies called MNCs eroding the jurisdiction of many states. For example, giant companies like Apple, Microsoft, Cargill and General Motors are controlling bigger budgets than many states around the world. Moreover, these companies are not managed only from its headquarters, but dispersed their power to different branches in many countries. Therefore, they are not easily controlled by nation states due to the flexibility of their structures. On the other hand, they are binding different states through economic activities. For example, American company Apple produces its devices in China and sells them to the whole world. These giant companies make investments in foreign countries, especially in underdeveloped or developing countries, to their own benefit. Such countries need foreign investments to develop, so they grant some privileges like tax exemptions or easy transfer of profits to the home country. As a result, nation states lose their comparative advantage or control over MNCs and MNCs act like pressure groups on states. These developments stem from expansion of the scope of foreign policy especially

with the emergence of neo-liberalism after 1980s which eliminated all the barriers on the way of free flow of goods and capital throughout the world. Ultimately, MNCs became institutions of foreign policy after the integration of economic issues to political ones.



your turn³

Discuss the basic institutions of modern diplomacy

LO 1

Analyze the development of modern diplomacy within the framework of international developments after the formation of modern states

Origins of modern diplomacy date back to Italian city states in the 14th and 15th centuries. Besides Renaissance in the 14th century, Reformation which spread Europe from Germany after the 15th century played an important role in the formation of modern diplomacy because it accelerated the secularization of regimes and the formation of modern states in today's understanding. WWI was the first global mass mobilization and warfare in world history. More than ten million people died and wounded throughout the world and the necessity to establish a stable and long-lasting diplomatic system came to the fore. After this brutal war, League of Nations was formed in 1919 to protect world peace and security. Before WWII, diplomatic efforts to solve crises between states did not bear fruits, but the destruction of WWII and the Cold War between the US and the USSR lasted more than four decades in the shadow of nuclear arms forced states to find solutions to international problems through diplomatic channels. The Cold War was another turning point in the evolution of modern diplomacy. Diplomatic institutions and instruments have been professionalized since the beginning of the Cold War and with the unprecedented development of globalization.

LO 2

Categorize and explain the institutions of modern diplomacy such as diplomatic missions, ministry of foreign affairs, NGOs and MNCs

There are three major instruments of modern diplomacy: bilateral, multilateral and summit diplomacy. Bilateral diplomacy is the oldest form of diplomatic practice consisting of two states meeting to solve their problems. Its origins date back to ancient Greece, but after the 14th century, it was professionalized by the Italian city states. Especially, after the formation of modern states in the 17th century, bilateral diplomacy became widespread starting from Europe. The French Revolution was a turning point in the evolution of bilateral diplomacy because secular nation states began to form and diplomacy became the main tool in conducting inter-state relations. Until the end of WWI, bilateral diplomacy kept its hegemony in the international relations. Bilateral diplomacy is conducted between two states, but, initially, these two states have to recognize each other to establish diplomatic missions and carry out diplomatic practice. Recognition means the acceptance of the existence of a state as an independent and sovereign entity in the international arena. Recognition consists two rights of a state: domestically it has to enjoy full sovereignty over its territories, internationally it has to be independent from any other state. On the other hand, Multilateral diplomacy is literally defined as diplomatic relations between more than two states. It is also known as “conference diplomacy” or “parliamentary diplomacy” because multilateral diplomatic relations are mainly conducted through conferences and face-to-face interaction between leaders or missions of states. Its origins go back to Vienna Congress convened in 1815 after Napoleonic Wars when European powers came up with the idea of balance of power strategy which sustained peace in Europe until WWI. Multilateral diplomacy became popular in the 20th century because problems between states turned into global problems such as peace and security, environment, health, migration, etc. and international actors understood that such problems had to be negotiated and solved through multilateral diplomacy. It is mainly conducted under the umbrella of multilateral organizations flourished in the second half of the 20th century such as UN, NATO, NAFTA and ASEAN. UN is the basic global instrument of multilateral diplomacy in which almost all sovereign and independent states take part. However, instruments of multilateral diplomacy are not limited to this global organization. International-regional organizations and functional organizations are other instruments of multilateral diplomacy and they are categorized in terms of their missions, functions and the level of cooperation among its members. In addition to global and international-regional organizations, ad hoc meetings are instruments of multilateral diplomacy. Ad hoc meetings can be divided into two groups: meetings about issues threatening peace and security and about technical issues. Meetings on peace and security are primarily organized by international or regional powers. On the other hand, meetings about technical issues are generally organized by the state interested in the solution of the problem and ready to bear the expenses and administrative responsibility of the meeting. Such meetings are organized to negotiate and, if possible, solve environmental issues, water or transportation problems between two or more states. WWI was a turning point in the rise of summit diplomacy as a result the decrease in trust to professional diplomats due to their inability to prevent such a global war and summit diplomacy became widespread. Summits can be categorized into three groups: regular summits, ad hoc summits and high-level meetings. Regular summits provide basis for negotiations, but their success is based on the frequency and duration. Frequently organized and long meetings enable the participants to reach some conclusions and solve problems. Ad hoc summits, on the other hand, are convened to solve specific problems or discuss specific issues as well as to create diplomatic momentum. Lastly, high-level meetings can be defined as meetings of leaders within the context of their official visits. Especially, newly elected leaders visit foreign countries and meet their counterparts.

LO 3

Categorize and explain the instruments of modern diplomacy such as bilateral diplomacy, multilateral diplomacy and summit diplomacy



There are two main institutions of modern diplomacy: ministry of foreign affairs and diplomatic missions. However, with the acceleration of globalization process, some non-state actors are involved in the diplomatic practice. Ministry of foreign affairs is the main body in the state apparatus responsible for the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. It consists of the ministerial structure and diplomatic missions. The first ministry of foreign affairs in today's understanding was established in France in the 1620s by Cardinal Richelieu after three centuries from the establishment of modern diplomatic missions. Today, ministry of foreign affairs is mainly responsible for the coordination of foreign policy rather than formulation and implementation of foreign policy only by itself. However, ministry of foreign affairs still plays an important role in the implementation of foreign policy because it is the main body in the state apparatus having such experience and professional staff in foreign policy issues. In order to effectively formulate and implement foreign policy, memory of ministry of foreign affairs should be strong. In other words, archives have to be regularly and systematically registered in foreign ministry. Therefore, there are certain branches responsible for the registration, protection and maintenance of diplomatic correspondence such as agreements, reports and letters in ministries of foreign affairs. As the branch for archives, ministries have legal branches controlling compliance of agreements with international and domestic laws. Lastly, ministry of foreign affairs has a political branch making proposals or warnings regarding foreign policy of a state. Political branch is an important part of ministry in order to conduct proactive policies rather than reactive ones in such a world changing dramatically day-by-day. Similarly, diplomatic missions are main components of diplomacy acting on behalf of their state in the state they are accredited to. Origins of diplomatic missions go back to ad hoc diplomacy period in which states were conducting foreign relations through temporary missions and envoys rather than establishing resident embassies. Ad hoc diplomacy was replaced by permanent diplomacy and its instruments and institutions as modern states began to form especially after the 14th century starting with Italy. Functions of diplomatic missions evolved in time as dynamics, instruments and institutions of diplomacy changed. Today, there are different levels of diplomatic representation and diplomatic missions have several functions and immunities. Definitions, functions and immunities of diplomatic missions and diplomats were specified and systematized by UN with the Vienna Convention, consisting 53 articles, in 1961. Rules and principles of Vienna Convention are still valid and constitute the basis of diplomatic relations. Lastly, globalization has blurred boundaries between nation states especially for the last three decades. Free flow of goods, capital and especially people in a world with diminishing boundaries is regarded as a threat to sovereignty and independence of national states because such developments cause erosion of state's authority. As a result of globalization process, new actors emerged such as NGOs and MNCs and the role of these actors in international relations is regularly increasing.

1 Which one of the following is a function of a diplomatic mission?

- a. Representing the sending State in the receiving State
- b. Negotiating with the Government of the receiving State
- c. Ascertaining by all lawful means conditions and developments in the receiving State, and reporting thereon to the Government of the sending State
- d. Promoting friendly relations between the sending State and the receiving State, and developing their economic, cultural and scientific relations
- e. All of them

2 Which one of the following is **not** a part of diplomatic mission?

- a. Ambassador
- b. Envoy
- c. Deputy Minister
- d. Chargés d'affaires
- e. Minister

3 Which one of the following is **not** a part of diplomatic privileges?

- a. Premises of mission
- b. Commercial activities for personal interests
- c. Archives and documents of mission
- d. Packages of mission
- e. Taxes levied from mission

4 Where was the first professional ministry of foreign affairs established?

- a. France
- b. The Great Britain
- c. Germany
- d. Italy
- e. The United States

5 What is the name of department conducting foreign relations of the United States?

- a. Ministry of Foreign Affairs
- b. Foreign Office
- c. State Department
- d. Foreign Ministry
- e. Office of Foreign Relations

6 What was the common instrument of diplomacy before WWI?

- a. Summit Diplomacy
- b. Multilateral Diplomacy
- c. Cyber Diplomacy
- d. Bilateral Diplomacy
- e. Conference Diplomacy

7 Which one of the following is **not** an example of **regular summit diplomacy**?

- a. D-8
- b. G-20
- c. ASEAN
- d. Council of Europe
- e. Camp David

8 What is the name of the institution established after WWII to provide peace and security in the world?

- a. League of Nations
- b. NATO
- c. Warsaw Pact
- d. United Nations
- e. European Union

9 What was the turning point in the formation of multilateral diplomacy?

- a. Westphalia Treaty (1648)
- b. Berlin Congress (1878)
- c. Vienna Congress (1815)
- d. Paris Peace Conference (1919)
- e. San Francisco Conference (1945)

10 Which one of the following is **not** one of the international regional institutions?

- a. Arab League
- b. Commonwealth
- c. ASEAN
- d. European Council
- e. NATO

1. e	If your answer is incorrect, review “Diplomatic Missions”	6. d	If your answer is incorrect, review “Bilateral Diplomacy”
2. c	If your answer is incorrect, review “Diplomatic Missions”	7. e	If your answer is incorrect, review “Summit Diplomacy”
3. b	If your answer is incorrect, review “Diplomatic Missions”	8. d	If your answer is incorrect, review “Multilateral Diplomacy”
4. a	If your answer is incorrect, review “Ministry of Foreign Affairs”	9. c	If your answer is incorrect, review “Multilateral Diplomacy”
5. c	If your answer is incorrect, review “Ministry of Foreign Affairs”	10. e	If your answer is incorrect, review “Summit Diplomacy”

Discuss the international developments shaped the institutions and instruments of modern diplomacy?

your turn 1

Besides Renaissance in the 14th century, Reformation which spread Europe from Germany after the 15th century played an important role in the formation of modern diplomacy because it accelerated the secularization of regimes and the formation of modern states in today's understanding. WWI was the first global mass mobilization and warfare in world history. More than ten million people died and wounded throughout the world and the necessity to establish a stable and long-lasting diplomatic system came to the fore. After this brutal war, League of Nations was formed in 1919 to protect world peace and security as well as to solve inter-state problems through diplomatic channels. Before WWII, diplomatic efforts to solve crises between states did not bear fruits, but the destruction of WWII and the Cold War between the US and the USSR lasted more than four decades in the shadow of nuclear arms forced states to find solutions to international problems through diplomatic channels. The Cold War was another turning point in the evolution of modern diplomacy. Diplomatic institutions and instruments have been professionalized since the beginning of the Cold War and with the unprecedented development of globalization.

Discuss the basic instruments of modern diplomacy

your turn 2

There are three basic instruments of modern diplomacy: bilateral diplomacy, multilateral diplomacy and summit diplomacy. Bilateral diplomacy is the oldest form of diplomatic practice consisting of two states meeting to solve their problems. Its origins date back to ancient Greece, but after the 14th century, it was professionalized by the Italian city states. Especially, after the formation of modern states in the 17th century, bilateral diplomacy became widespread starting from Europe. The French Revolution was a turning point in the evolution of bilateral diplomacy because secular nation states began to form and diplomacy became the main tool in conducting inter-state relations. Until the end of WWI, bilateral diplomacy kept its hegemony in the international relations. Multilateral diplomacy is literally defined as diplomatic relations between more than two states. It is also known as “conference diplomacy” or “parliamentary diplomacy” because multilateral diplomatic relations are mainly conducted through conferences and face-to-face interaction between leaders or missions of states. Its origins go back to Vienna Congress convened in 1815 after Napoleonic Wars when European powers came up with the idea of balance of power strategy which sustained peace in Europe until WWI. Multilateral diplomacy became popular in the 20th century because problems between states turned into global problems. Summit diplomacy traces back to Middle Ages when the territories of monarchs were regarded as their own properties. In order to solve their problems or develop their relations, monarchs were meeting regularly. (İskit, 334-335) With the formation of modern nation states, the decline of monarchies and the establishment of modern diplomatic missions, diplomatic practices began to be carried out by professionals. However, WWI was a turning point in the rise of summit diplomacy as a result the decrease in trust to professional diplomats due to their inability to prevent such a global war and summit diplomacy became widespread..

Discuss the basic institutions of modern diplomacy

your turn 3

Basic institutions of modern diplomacy can be divided into two categories: state actors such as ministry of foreign affairs and diplomatic missions and non-state actors such as NGOs and MNCs. Ministry of foreign affairs is the main body in the state apparatus responsible for the formulation and implementation of foreign policy. It consists of the ministerial structure and diplomatic missions. Ministry of foreign affairs is mainly responsible for the coordination of foreign policy rather than formulation and implementation of foreign policy only by itself. However, ministry of foreign affairs still plays an important role in the implementation of foreign policy because it is the main body in the state apparatus having such experience and professional staff in foreign policy issues. In the same vein, ministry of foreign affairs is responsible for establishment of diplomatic missions in foreign countries as well as recruitment and training of diplomatic personnel. Diplomatic missions are main components of diplomacy acting on behalf of their state in the state they are accredited to. Origins of diplomatic missions go back to ad hoc diplomacy period in which states were conducting foreign relations through temporary missions and envoys rather than establishing resident embassies. Today, there are different levels of diplomatic representation and diplomatic missions have several functions and immunities. Definitions, functions and immunities of diplomatic missions and diplomats were specified and systematized by UN with the Vienna Convention, consisting 53 articles, in 1961. Rules and principles of Vienna Convention are still valid and constitute the basis of diplomatic relations. Globalization has blurred boundaries between nation states especially for the last three decades. Free flow of goods, capital and especially people in a world with diminishing boundaries is regarded as a threat to sovereignty and independence of national states because such developments cause erosion of state's authority. This trend has some repercussions in foreign policy and implementation because the state and its institutions are not the only authority influencing states' foreign policy. As a result of globalization process, new actors emerged such as NGOs and MNCs and the role of these actors in international relations is regularly increasing.

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Chapter 6

Diplomacy of the Republic of Turkey

After completing this chapter, you will be able to:

Learning Outcomes

1

Comprehend the dynamics of Turkish Diplomacy in a categorical way

2

Distinguish the actors, processes and tools of Turkish Diplomacy as they have evolved since the foundation of the Turkish Republic

Chapter Outline

Introduction
Theorizing Turkish Diplomacy and Foreign Policy
Actors, Processes and Tools of Turkish Diplomacy
Turkey's Relations With Nato as a Case Study
Conclusion

Key Terms

Republic Of Turkey
Diplomacy
Foreign Policy
Ottoman Legacy
Ataturk's Legacy
Westernization
Geography
Instruments Of Diplomacy
NATO



INTRODUCTION

As a middle-sized country and having a significant geopolitical location, Turkey's diplomatic and foreign policy practices merit closer attention. Which factors do shape Turkey's diplomatic actions? What are the characteristics of Turkish diplomacy? Which actors are influential in shaping Turkey's foreign policy interests and diplomatic practices? How is diplomacy conducted in Turkey? Which particular instruments are employed in the exercise of Turkish diplomacy? Which issues have been important in Turkey's diplomatic history since the foundation of the Republic. These are some of the questions that this chapter tries to answer.

THEORIZING TURKISH DIPLOMACY AND FOREIGN POLICY

This section aims at offering a theoretical analysis of the factors that have shaped Turkey's diplomatic and foreign policy practices since the foundation of the Republic in 1923 up to now.

Structural Factors

In this section, the factors that have produced long-term impact on Turkish diplomacy will be examined from a comparative perspective. These are the factors that do not change easily from time to time, and offer a particular contextual environment in which Turkish decision makers tend to interpret external developments (Aydin, 2010, 152-186). Their impact is deep and they are well internalized by diplomatic elites and people alike. Structural factors have a lasting impact on Turkey's diplomacy and foreign policy.

Ottoman Legacy

The first legacy that the rulers of the Turkish republic inherited from the Ottoman past is that the state is the main diplomatic and security actor. National security and foreign policy interests have long been defined from the perspective of the state. There is a strong state tradition in Turkey (Heper, 1985). State is the main actor that provides security; state elites define which issues should be considered as security issues; security interests are defined in reference to the survival

and well-being of the state. For a long time, the prevailing understanding was that issues of diplomacy, foreign policy and national security were so much existential and vital that they should not be left to the discretion of the politicians who only think how they can win upcoming elections and remain in power. State elites would, on the other hand, put national interests at the center of their behaviors and approach vitally important issues from the perspective of state.

Turkey has also inherited the 'Sevres syndrome' from the Ottoman Empire, according to which Turkey is defined as the crown jewel in geopolitical power struggles among external actors. Turkey is surrounded by enemies that would never hesitate to make use of any opportunity to dictate their terms on Turkey as well as to dismember this country. A strong dose of siege mentality exists among Turkish people. Turkish decision makers tend to perceive Turkey's neighbors to all directions as the pawns in the hands of great powers, which would likely use them as leverage in their relations with Turkey. The facts that many neighbors of Turkey gained their independence from the Ottoman Empire and they were very much assisted by external great powers in their efforts seem to have led Turkish decision makers feel suspicious of Turkey's neighbors. Hence, there are adages such as 'water sleeps but enemy never sleeps' and 'if you want peace prepare for war'.

Another aspect of the Ottoman legacy is that diplomatic and foreign policy issues need to be dealt with secretly and behind closed doors. Open discussion of such issues before the public is generally seen as risky. Diplomatic issues require expertise. For a long time, only the state elites nested in bureaucracy were assumed to have possessed this expertise. The participation of civil society and non-state actors in the formulation of Turkey's foreign policy interests has been quite limited compared to liberal democratic countries in the West. Diplomacy has always been the privilege of state elites in Turkey. It is during the process of Europeanization and democratization that civil society has finally begun to acquire an important role in Turkish diplomacy. It is now the case that both elected politicians are more knowledgeable than before about foreign policy and diplomatic issues and think tanks have mushroomed as institutional platforms offering expert-help to decision makers.



Figure 6.1 Francis Smith, *The Grand Vizier Giving Audience to the English Ambassador*, c.1760 (picture from Wikimedia Commons)

Source: <http://ottomaneuropeandiplomacy.blogspot.com.tr/2013/12/welcome.html>

Turkish rulers have also inherited an imperial mentality from the Ottoman era in that Turkey has long been seen as the continuation of the Empire. The imperial mentality also manifests itself in the way how Turkish rulers interact with their counterparts in other countries. Turkish rulers tend to speak with foreigners as if today's Turkey is the Ottoman Empire of the sixteenth century. Longing for respect, equality and status very much shapes Turkey's relations with much powerful countries. Imperial mentality also suggests that Turkey holds itself responsible for the well-being of people living in the post-Ottoman geography. The practice of defining Turkey as a responsible diplomatic actor that should contribute to the solution of regional and global humanitarian, developmental and security problems has strengthened during the reign of Justice and Development Party governments since 2002. The imperial mentality seems to have made itself appear in the foreign policy discourse of the AKP era politicians. For example, former Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoglu quite often said that the scope of Turkish diplomacy is global and Turkey should act as an order-creator country in its environment. The circles that see Turkey through imperial eyes find it difficult to understand that the Republic of Turkey constitutes a break with the Ottoman past.

Another legacy of the Ottoman years is that the alternative ideologies and strategies that had once come to the agenda in late 19th century with a view

to ensuring the survival of the Ottoman Empire - namely pan-Turkism, pan-Ottomanism and pan-Islamism - have continued to influence Turkey's diplomatic practices during the Republican era. Despite the fact that the founding rulers of the Turkish Republic discarded all adventurist strategies from the lexicon of state and heavily invested in Turkish nationalism, all the 'isms' mentioned have continued to be influential in coming decades.

Another legacy of the Ottoman Empire is the idea that Turkey would not be able to achieve its national interests if the gains of the wars won on battlefields were not legitimized through diplomatic negotiations. Securing military victories on battlefields would not accrue benefits to Turkey, should they not be entrenched through diplomacy. In this context, Turkish diplomacy is quite sensitive on the issue of legitimizing Turkey's war efforts or other foreign policy interests through international law. Securing legitimacy in the eyes of international public opinion through the successful employment of international law has always been important in Turkish diplomacy. Hence, the strong international law tradition in the institutional structure of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Turkey's defensive *realpolitik* security culture has also been decisively shaped by the Ottoman era experiences (Karaosmanoglu, 2000, 199-216). Since the beginning of the Republic, Turkey's diplomatic efforts have aimed at protecting Turkey's territorial integrity, national sovereignty and societal cohesion. The number one national security interest has been to preserve Turkey's gains and ensure that Turkey survives as an independent sovereign country. Maximalist and irredentist claims have never shaped Turkey's republican era diplomatic initiatives. As a middle power, Turkish diplomatic and security initiatives aim at reading the external developments right and taking the most appropriate measures in responding to them. In case Turkey's internal capabilities lacked, Turkish rulers did their best to secure the cooperation of external actors against common enemies. The idea of playing great powers off against each other is quite strong in Turkey. Balance of powers politics has shaped Turkish diplomacy since the early 1920s. Signing strategic cooperation agreements with Britain and France on the eve of the World War II and joining NATO in 1952 should be understood as Turkey's efforts to achieve its security interests through alliance politics.

Westernization

Westernization is a very important structural variable of Turkish foreign policy.

Since the second half of the nineteenth century Turkey's efforts to join the key Western/European international organizations, viz. external Westernization, has gone hand in hand with the transformation process at home in line with the constitutive norms and values of Western international community, viz. internal Westernization.

Westernization is also thought of a security strategy in that Turkey would feel itself safe and secure if it came closer to the West/Europe and its Western/European identity were recognized as such by Westerners/Europeans (Oğuzlu, 2003, 285-299). Given that the Ottoman Empire came to an end at the hands of the Western European nations, the founding fathers of the Republic assumed that Turkey's security would improve, if Europeans saw Turkey as a member of the Western/European family of nations.

This process has both negative and positive connotations in the context of Turkish diplomatic history. Turks love and hate Westerners simultaneously. The negative experiences of the Ottoman past would assumingly be left behind if Turkey completed its Westernization process. However, whenever Westerners/Europeans questioned the credentials of Turkey's Western identity, the dominant view on the part of the majority of Turks happened to be that Westerners did never and would never recognize Turkey as Western/European. For example, the reluctance of Europeans to admit Turkey to EU membership has generally been interpreted as the continuation of the traditional European attitude towards Turkey, according to which Turks have been among the constitutive others of Europeans.

All in all, Turkey's membership in NATO since 1952 and the ongoing accession negotiations with the European Union are now the most important dimensions of Turkish foreign policy. Westernization has also manifested itself in Turkey's efforts to side with the US-led Western international community against the Soviet Union during the Cold War era. Claiming to represent the Western world in its regional environment and playing an active role in the promotion of Western/European values onto non-Western geographies

in its close proximity has constituted one of the hallmarks of Turkish diplomatic culture. Despite all kind of problems experienced in relations with Western/European nations, particularly during the post-Cold war era, Turkey's Westernization process is still on and membership in NATO is seen vital to the fulfillment of Turkey's national security interests. Many other foreign policy alternatives have mostly come to the agenda whenever Turkey's relations with Western/European nations deteriorated. For example, the growing crisis in relations with the United States during the course of the developments associated with the so-called Arab Spring seems to partially account for Turkey's coming closer to Russia and Iran. Similarly, at times of tension in Turkey's relations with the European Union, the idea of Eurasianism tends to become popular among Turkey's strategic elites.

Ataturk's Legacy

To Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, the founder of the Republic, and his comrades in arms, Turkey's number one national interest during the 1920s and 1930s was to protect the newly gained independence and sovereignty as well as successfully completing the radical transformation process at home (Hale, 2013, 31055). This required the pursuit of a pragmatic, prudent and realist foreign policy, enshrining the principle of 'peace at home peace in the world'. Turkish rulers tried to help bring into existence a stable and cooperative regional environment so that developments outside the borders would never have negative consequences on the ongoing modernization and development processes at home. In this sense, there seems to exist a strong degree of continuity between Turkey's efforts to support regional cooperation during the interwar years through the Balkan Entente and Saadabad Pact and the attempts of the Justice and Development Party governments at encouraging regional cooperation initiatives over the last fifteen years.

Pragmatism also suggested that Turkey would do well to construct friendly relations with former enemies. Involvement in the internal affairs of other states and pursuit of expansionist and irredentist foreign policies do not hold any place in Atatürk's diplomatic legacy. This is the main reason why any attempt at regime change abroad is very much criticized at home. Traditional Turkish diplomacy is based on the idea that states are independent

in their internal affairs and Turkey should not be involved in the business of regime change or value promotion. Trying to solve national security problems through diplomacy and international law is another legacy of Atatürk. The revision of the Lasuanne regulations on the status of Turkish Straits through the Montreaux Convention in 1936, the incorporation of Hatay region into Turkey in 1939, and the settlement of the Mousul question and the border dispute with Iraq in 1926 are all examples to the use of international law and diplomacy in Turkish foreign policy. Diplomacy backed by hard power capability and diplomatic initiatives conferring legitimacy on military victories constitute the backbone of Atatürk's diplomatic legacy.



Figure 6.2 King Edward VIII and President Kemal Atatürk

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:King_Edward_VIII_and_President_Kemal_Ataturk.jpg

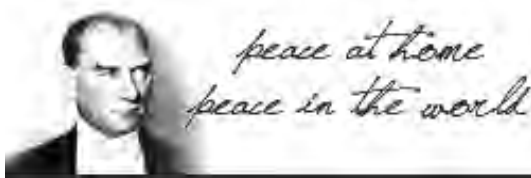


Figure 6.3

Source: <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/default.en.mfa>



your turn ¹

Comment on Atatürk's Legacy
in Turkish Foreign Policy

Geography is the Destiny

Turkey's geographical location has always been the most important leverage in Turkey's relations with other countries. Despite the danger of exaggerating 'geographical determinism', it would not be wrong to argue that Turkey's diplomatic relations and foreign policy record during much of the Republican era have been deeply informed by Turkey's geography (Aydin, 2003, 163-184). Turkey's geography has been both an asset and liability. Turkey's decision to join NATO as well as being in the crosshairs of global powers can be convincingly attributed to its geographical location. Being located at the intersection point of three continents, Turkey has continuously attracted the attention of other countries, notably the great powers which have had vital security interests in Turkey's regional environment.

The United States defined Turkey as the unsinkable aircraft carrier during the Cold War. The Soviet Union wanted to get control of the straits and eastern part of Anatolia in the immediate aftermath of the World War II and this prompted Turkey to seek security cooperation with the United States. Turkey joined NATO in 1952 to deal with the Soviet challenge much better. Turkey's efforts to become an energy hub during the post-Cold War era are noticeable. In its effort to convince the Europeans to the idea of Turkey's membership in the European Union, Turkish rulers have continuously instrumentalized Turkey's geographical location as a bargaining chip. Turkey's geography has recently come to the agenda in the context of the migration crisis engulfing European countries. The migration deal that Turkey signed with the European Union in the spring of 2016 is very much the function of Turkey's peculiar geography in the context of European efforts to stem the refugee flow emanating from the Greater Middle Eastern region. The main reason why the island of Cyprus occupies a very important place in Turkish foreign policy is Cyprus's geographical proximity to Anatolian peninsula as well as the recent discovery of rich natural gas resources in Eastern Mediterranean.

The reason why Europeans could not easily give up on Turkey can also be boiled down to Turkey's potential contribution to European security. Hence, Turkey is mainly characterized as a buffer-zone and insulator country by Europeans. Underlining Turkey's potential contribution to the protection

of the Kantian security environment inside the EU against the security challenges emanating from the Hobbesian security environment in the Middle East has decisively colored Turkey's discourse with Western/European countries. Depiction of Turkey as a 'bridge' and 'role model' by Westerners does also relate to Turkey's geographical location.

Turkey's geography does also suggest that Turkey should always be alerted to potential threats posed to its security as well as maintaining strong and credible armed forces. Of all the reasons of military's key role in Turkish diplomacy, the need to have a powerful army in this fragile and delicate geographical location proves to be decisive.

Temporal and Conjectural Factors

In addition to the structural factors, Turkish diplomacy and foreign policy has also been informed by the confluence of some conjectural factors which tend to have short term impact on how Turkey's diplomatic practices have unfolded since the early 1920s. This section examines the impact of such conjectural factors as the shift in the structure of international system and political ideologies of ruling elites at different times (Aydin, 2003, 103-139).

International System

Depending on the structure of international system at different time periods, Turkish foreign policy interests, security definitions, alliance relationships, maneuvering capability and diplomatic practices evinced variations. The time period between 1923 and 1939 had a multipolar international and regional environment with none of the great powers having the ability to set the course of international developments, let alone imposing its will on to others through unilateral and coercive means. During this period, Turkey's maneuvering capability was high and Turkey pursued a multi-directional foreign policy (Barlas, 2005, 441-464). Developing closer economic and strategic relations with the communist Soviet Union went hand in hand with establishing friendly cooperative relations with Western European powers. Turkey's regional activism was also noticeable in the Balkans and the Middle East. The formation of Balkan Entente in 1934 and the Saadabad Pact in 1937 became possible through Turkish diplomatic

efforts. Despite the fact that Turkey had just left behind its war of independence and its material power capabilities were not match of key regional and global powers, the multipolar character of the international system presented Ankara with opportunities to muddle through its way.



Figure 6.4 Joint Stamps of the Balkan Pact Issued By its Member States

Source: https://www.google.com.tr/search?q=Balkan+Entente+in+1934&dcr=o&source=lnms&tbm=isch&sa=X&ved=oahUKEwi3sYyizuZAhVLb5oKHV3RAvMQ_AUICigB&biw=1280&bih=683#imgsrc=1i1gagjDKAaXgM:&s pf=1520923691069

During the Second World War, Turkey continued the multi-directional foreign policy stance of the interwar period and pursued the so-called active neutrality foreign policy (Vanderlippe, 2003, 63-80). Rather than siding with one side of the warring parties, Turkey tried to benefit from the geopolitical rivalries between the axis powers on the one hand and the allied countries on the other.

The time period between 1945 and 1960 corresponds to a bipolar international structure and a high level confrontation between the US-led Western liberal democratic countries and the communist countries of the Soviet block. Turkey felt itself under Soviet threat and wanted to join the Western international community in such a way to counterbalance the existential threat to the north. Following its admission to NATO and given the increasing tension between the two power blocks, Turkey had to pursue a predominantly pro-Western foreign policy course. The rigid atmosphere of the early Cold War years did not offer Turkey the ability

to adopt neutrality and pursue an independent/non-aligned foreign policy course. Turkey's maneuvering capability was extremely limited during this era.

For about twenty years between 1960 and 1980, Turkey shifted to a more multi-directional and multi-dimensional foreign policy stance as the so-called détente caused a softening of the bipolar confrontation between Western and eastern blocks (Hale, 2013, 104-134). Turkish rulers came to the conclusion that the pursuit of extremely pro-Western foreign policy stance of the previous era did not yield expected benefits. As the United States and the Soviet Union began to search for ways to live in peaceful co-existence, Turkey felt more capable of charting its own ways through regional activism.

During the 1980s, Turkey had to discover the importance of the strategic relations with the Western world once again as the change of regime Iran and the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan increased the tension between the two blocks. The second arrival of the Cold War era confrontation helped increase Turkey's geopolitical significance in Western eyes. During the 1980s, Turkey predominantly followed a pro-Western foreign policy stance despite the emergence of some problems in relations with Western countries.

Turkey's maneuvering capability in its foreign policy radically improved with the dissolution of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. No longer feeling the pressure to the north, Turkey could pursue active and assertive policies in the Balkans, Caucasus, Central Asia and Middle East. Even though the evaporation of the Soviet threat contributed to the erosion of the strategic bond between Turkey and its Western allies, membership in NATO and the prospective membership in European Union preserved their primacy in Turkey's strategic thinking. The pro-Western stance in Turkish foreign policy was also enabled by the US-led unipolar structure of the international system, the growing appeal of the constitutive norms of the Western international community as well as the perception of Turkey in the West as a successful role model for the countries that regained their independence in the post-Soviet geography. The 1990s could be seen as a period in which Turkey tried to strike a balance between pursuing a more independent/multidirectional foreign policy stance on the one hand and increasing its efforts

to solidify its presence in the Western international community on the other. While the end of the Cold War seems to have increased Turkey's maneuvering capability, the gradual erosion of Turkey's strategic value in the eyes of Western/European allies absent the common communism threat pushed Turkish leaders to help reassert Turkey's Western/European identity through NATO and the European Union.

The shift to a more multipolar system over the last decade, particularly following the global financial crisis in 2008, and the spectacular increase in Turkey's material power capabilities seem to have encouraged Turkish rulers to follow a more multi-directional and multi-dimensional foreign policy stance. During this era, Turkey has been in search for more strategic autonomy (Öniş and Yılmaz, 2009, 7-24). The relative decline of Western powers, the questioning of the Western model across the globe, the concomitant rise of non-Western powers in global politics and the onset of the Arab Spring seem to have all caused a shift of axis in Turkish foreign policy away from the West to the East. Turkey acting as a 'central country' and pursuing a 'Eurasianist' foreign policy stance became quite visible during this era.

Political Ideologies

Since the establishment of the Republic until now, Turkey has been ruled by different political parties, each holding onto different political ideologies. Despite the fact that structural factors have to a significant extent curtailed their ability to set the course of Turkish foreign policy in line with their distinctive political ideology, they have nevertheless had the opportunity to reflect their ideologies on Turkey's diplomatic choices. Of all the alternative political ideologies, center-of-right, center-of-left, Turkish nationalism and political Islam stand out most.

Center-of-right parties have most of the time supported Turkey's pro-Western and pro-European foreign policy orientation. Believing in the virtues of free market economy and liberal democracy, such parties have found many things in common with their counterparts in Western countries. It is during their tenure in government that Turkey joined NATO, applied for membership in the European Union, joined the Customs Union with the European Union and strengthened strategic, military and economic cooperation with Western

countries. These parties are pro-secular in terms of their political persuasion, yet are in peace with the traditional and conservative values of the Turkish society.

Center-of-left parties are also pro-Western and pro-European in terms of their foreign policy orientation, yet compared to center-of-right parties they proved to be more predisposed to the idea that a multi-directional foreign policy orientation would better serve Turkey's national interests (Celep, 2011, 423-434). These parties have been more sensitive than center-of-right parties in preserving Turkey's secular identity and unitary state character. This might partially explain why they appear to have condoned various military coups undertaken in the name of preserving the constitute values of the Turkish Republic.

Turkish nationalist parties have on the other hand adopted a soft-skeptic approach towards Turkey's relations with Western countries both bilaterally and institutionally (Avcı, 2011, 435-447). They have been in favor of Turkey's membership in NATO and the European Union, yet questioned the logic of the institutional relations if they would dilute Turkey's strong state identity, societal cohesion, territorial integrity and national sovereignty. In the context of Turkey's aspirations to join the European Union, many Turkish nationalists have demonstrated a strong reluctance to fulfill the EU's post-modern membership criteria. On the other hand, many Turkish nationalists have adopted the romantic idea of bringing into existence a league of Turkish/Turkic states under Turkey's leadership and improving all sorts of relations with Turkic nations located in the post-Soviet geography. Turkish nationalists also argue for strengthening strategic, economic and political relations with non-Western global and regional states, such as Russia, China and Iran. Eurasianism as a foreign policy discourse is quite popular among Turkish nationalists.

Political Islamists, compared to all other ideologies mentioned above, question the dynamics of Turkey's relations with Western countries and argue that Turkey should not try to join Western institutions. Turkey is different from Western countries on religious, historical, cultural and civilizational grounds and the inherent differences between the parties would never allow Turkey to

be a member of the European Union (İçener and Çağlıyan-İçener, 2011, 19-34). Instead, Turkey should put its Islamic identity at the center of its foreign policy and try to help arouse a common Islamic consciousness among Muslim countries. Political Islamists are the most ardent supporters of the idea that Turkey should pursue regional hegemony in the Middle East.



Figure 6.5

Source: <http://www.mfa.gov.tr/aciklamalar-genel.tr.mfa>

ACTORS, PROCESSES AND TOOLS OF TURKISH DIPLOMACY

The government is the main actor in charge of defining Turkey's foreign policy interests and diplomatic goals. Constitutionally speaking, it is the elected representatives of the Turkish people that have the final authority to determine Turkey's foreign policy orientation. Despite the primacy of elected civilians in this process, the appointed bureaucrats in state administration have long played the most decisive role. Bureaucrats in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and National Security Council and the high level generals in the military were more influential than elected civilians in the government. The governments that were formed in the aftermath of military coups did not have the confidence to challenge the privileged position of state elites/security establishment in this context. It is with the reign of Justice and Development party governments that the process of civilianization in Turkish foreign policy has begun to take strong roots. Many key foreign policy decisions since the early 2000s have been taken by the elected politicians and high level bureaucrats in state administration have been relegated to advisory roles.

Foreign policy decision making process in Turkey is now both centralized and civilianized. The input of public opinion is traditionally limited, yet recent decades have witnessed that governments have increasingly taken into account the potential

consequences of foreign policy decisions on domestic politics. The question of how foreign policy choices affect the legitimacy and internal standing of political parties, most importantly the party/ies in government, has become extremely important. Conducting foreign policy with domestic policy motivations has now become a norm and this attest to the growing importance of public opinion in foreign policy making process.

As of today, Turkey has more than 200 diplomatic missions all around globe. While ambassadorial missions deal with diplomatic and political issues, consulates are in charge of dealing with social, cultural and similar problems of Turkish people living in other countries. While many embassies are located in the capital city of other countries conducting official diplomatic relations between Turkey and the country in which they are located, some embassies represent Turkey in international organizations, such as the United Nations, European Union and NATO. Recent years have seen that Turkish ambassadors were appointed to high positions in many international organizations. The point worth underlining in this context is that Turkey has recently opened many diplomatic missions in Africa and other far distant places. This shows that Turkish diplomacy has now gained a global vision and scope.

Turkey's strong military power capability constitutes the most important source of Turkish diplomacy. Unless buttressed by military power capability in the background, diplomatic initiatives might not yield positive results in the anarchical environment of international relations. Deployment of Turkish military units outside Turkish boundaries has in recent years improved Turkey's ability to score diplomatic gains against its contenders. Another crucial point to underline in this context is that as Turkish military capability were to become of more Turkish origin, the more leverage Turkey would have in its diplomatic interactions with its contenders and rivals. This seems to account for why Turkish governments have recently increased investment in the development of national defense-industry.

The employment of civilian and soft power instruments in Turkish diplomacy has also become noticeable in recent years (Oğuzlu, 2007, 81-97). Since the time Turkey began to intensify its effort to become a part of the ongoing globalization process

and opening itself to the world, businessmen came to the fore as important actors in Turkish foreign policy. Through their organizations, they lobby Turkish governments in order to ensure that their economic interests be taken into account in the formulation and implementation of Turkey's foreign interests. Many high level state visits that Turkish decision makers regularly pay to other countries show that sizeable groups of businessmen accompany Turkish leaders. Improving economic relations with multiple countries across the globe and contributing to the strengthening of interdependent commercial relations between Turkey and other countries have already become one of the most important tools of Turkish diplomatic practices in recent years.

Desecuritization of bilateral relations with neighboring countries (Aras and Polat, 2008, 495-515), particularly with the ones located in the Middle East; helping bring into existence EU-like regional integration mechanisms in its region; investing in multilateral problems in its effort to find solutions to regional problems; taking 'mediatory and facilitation initiatives' in the solution of disputes between other countries' and intensifying the social and cultural exchanges with other countries in social, cultural, tourism and educational levels all now shape Turkish diplomatic practices decisively.

Improving Turkey's positive image in the eyes of other countries does also constitute an important part of Turkish diplomatic efforts in recent years. Investing in public diplomacy initiatives, transforming the Turkish Airlines into one of the largest air-carriers all over the world, founding the English language TRT-World, redesigning the TRT as a multi-lingual broadcasting company, increasing humanitarian and development aids to poor and needy countries (Çelik and İşeri, 2016, 429-448), and establishing particular state institutions in charge of dealing with the problems of Turkish-origin people in the countries which host sizable Turkish communities can all be considered as important soft power initiatives.



your turn ²

What kind of soft and civilian power instruments are employed in Turkey's diplomatic practices abroad?

TURKEY'S RELATIONS WITH NATO AS A CASE STUDY

Because space limitations does not allow to undertake a detailed analysis of the issues that have occupied the diplomacy of the Republic of Turkey since the early 1920s, this section discusses the dynamics of Turkish diplomacy with respect to NATO as a case study.

Turkey has been one of the most important members of NATO since its accession to the Alliance in 1952. Having defined for many years its foreign, defense and security policies on the basis of NATO membership, Turkey began to adopt a more questioning and critical perspective towards the Alliance with the end of the Cold War. Although NATO continues to maintain its importance in Turkish foreign and security policy thinking, it would be wrong to suggest that this is at the same level as it was during the Cold War era. Some public opinion polls show that not many people in Turkey consider NATO membership as essential for the security of the country. Even though elite groups maintain their commitment to NATO, there is a rising skeptical approach in public towards the West in general, and the U.S. and EU members in particular.



Figure 6.6

The Cold War Period

After the Second World War ended, Turkey wanted to join NATO mainly from a security oriented perspective. Not possessing the means to cope with the threats stemming from the Soviet Union on its own (for instance, Moscow's territorial demands on the Straits and the provinces of Kars and Ardahan in eastern Anatolia) Turkey wanted to secure Western help by joining the multilateral security organization NATO. Turkey

desired to become a member of NATO with a view to shoring up its resistance capability against the threats emanating from outside sources. From the very beginning, NATO has primarily been a *collective defense* organization for Turkey.

The most important factor that facilitated Turkey's accession to the Alliance was that the United States, as being the most important NATO member, attributed a tremendous importance to Turkey's geopolitical position and military capacity in the context of Cold War's security dynamics. The assumption on the part of the US strategists was that the task of fulfilling NATO's *containment* and *deterrence* strategies vis-à-vis the Soviet Union would be much easier if Turkey joined the Alliance and prevented the Soviet penetration into the eastern Mediterranean and Middle Eastern regions.

Another factor that initially pushed Turkey to seek membership in NATO and later on proved to be one of the main reasons for its justification in the eyes of Turkish people was that NATO membership was considered as an important milestone in Turkey's decades-old Westernization/Europeanization/modernization process. Thanks to NATO membership, Turkey could argue for many years that it was a Western/European state. Compared to other Western international organizations, it proved to be much easier for Turkey to help legitimize its Western/European identity through NATO, for the alliance was in dire need of having access to Turkey's geographical location and military capabilities. It was within NATO that Turkey's bargaining capability vis-à-vis the West was the highest.

It might also be argued that Turkey's internalization of Western values and norms proved to be much easier following its accession to NATO. After all, given that NATO has from the very beginning represented the unity of countries believing in liberal-democratic values, Turkish leaders could be acquainted with those values more easily under the roof of NATO. Furthermore, the impact of NATO membership on the evolution of civilian-military relations in Turkey to more European and Western standards should not be underestimated (Karaosmanoğlu, 2011, 253-264).

Given that Turkey and other NATO members regarded the Soviet Union as the common enemy during the Cold War, Turkey was able to pursue

NATO-oriented foreign and security policies. Despite the Cuban missile crisis in 1962, the Johnson Letter crisis in 1964, the arms embargo crisis in 1975, and the anti-U.S. sentiments running high in the country from time to time; NATO preserved its privileged position in Turkish diplomacy during much of the Cold War period. The most distinctive characteristic of Turkey's approach towards the Alliance during this period was that Turkish elites interpreted the risks of being abandoned by NATO much more important than the risks of being entrapped by some alliance policies. Even though certain groups contended that it would be more appropriate for Turkey to withdraw from membership and seek closer strategic relations with the Soviet Union and Third World countries, the advantages of remaining within NATO seem to have far outweighed the costs of membership (Karaosmanoğlu, 2011, 253-264).

Post-Cold War Period: New Definitions of Interests and Identity

After the Cold War ended and the threat stemming from the Soviet Union disappeared, Turkey's attitude towards the Alliance has begun to change. In order to understand the dynamics of Turkey's changing attitude towards the Alliance better, it would be useful to shed light on how Turkey's security and identity definitions evolved (Oğuzlu, 2012, 99-124).

The last two decades have seen that compared to its neighbors, Turkey's hard and soft power capabilities have tremendously improved. Simultaneously, Turkey has begun to play more active foreign policy roles. Turkey's efforts to reach out to non-Western geographies and actors have increased. Besides, the international system has gradually gained a *multipolar* character, with the strict limitations of the Cold War era coming to an end. Such factors have gradually rendered the unidimensional and NATO-centric definition of Turkey's foreign and security policies obsolete.

Furthermore, threats leveled against Turkey's national security have changed during this process. While the end of Cold War reduced the threats stemming from the Soviet Union and positively affected Turkish-Russian relations, developments in the Middle East, Balkans and Caucasus have started to become more important in the context of Turkey's security (Oğuzlu, 2013, 207-222).

This situation has weakened NATO's special and privileged position in the definition of Turkey's foreign and security policies, for the need to rely on NATO's nuclear security umbrella has dwindled. Besides, as Turkey's maneuvering capability increased and its capacity to help shape regional developments became stronger, it has gradually become a necessity that Turkey adopts different methods and tools in its diplomacy.

Given that NATO was considered to be a collective defense organization in the context of European security, it might even be suggested that the collapse of the Soviet Union and the gradual amelioration in European security feeling helped dilute NATO's primacy as a European security organization. NATO has lost some of its appeal in the eyes of Turkish elites.

Another factor that has proved to be effective in shaping Turkey's attitude towards NATO in the post-Cold War era is that the quality of Turkey's relations with European allies have begun to be much more dependent on the pace of Turkey's accession process with the European Union. As Turkey's contribution to Europe's security within NATO has gradually become less-emphasized, absent the common Soviet threat, the quality of Turkey's relations with European states has become very much a function of Turkey's EU membership process. In an environment in which the number of people who argued that NATO would remain either 'out of area' or 'out of business' increased and Turkey's security began to be increasingly affected by the developments taking place in non-European geographies, it has become more difficult to build Turkey's foreign and security policies primarily on the Western axis, of which NATO has been the most important component.

This transformation in Turkey's foreign and security policy thinking has gained a more visible character with the advent of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) to government in the early 2000s. During the reign of successive AKP governments over the last decade Turkey has been taking great pains to improve its relations with neighboring countries and create zones of peace and stability in its environment. Had Turkey continued to follow a primarily NATO-oriented foreign and security policy, particularly prior to the so-called Arab Spring process, it would have most likely failed to achieve its goals.

What is worth noting in this regard is that Turkey's relations with Russia and Iran have dramatically improved as Turkey has gradually left the NATO-centered foreign and security policy mentality behind. This remains so despite the fact that Turkey has been at odds with Russia over the course of developments in Syria and Ukraine. Turkish-Iranian rivalry in the post-American Middle East has not put the bilateral relations in jeopardy either. Turkey and Iran are supporting different constituencies in Iraq and Syria, yet they still see cooperation in other areas in their interests.

The *identity*-based considerations that had been very much instrumental in shaping Turkey's attitude towards NATO during the Cold War years have also begun to change with the advent of the 1990s. Even though identity related motivations have gained primacy during the reign of the AKP governments, the footprints of such concerns were quite evident in the first decade of the post-Cold War era. The common attitude adopted by all governments over the last two decades is that Turkey's national identity cannot be defined only in reference to the Western world. There have been continuing efforts to highlight Turkey's multiple identities, as well as its role in binding different civilizations and identities to each other (Yanık, 2009, 531-549). This trend has gained further momentum over the last decade with the internalization by successive AKP governments of the idea that Turkey is the inheritor of the Ottoman Empire and should make use of the Ottoman legacy in the fields of culture, religion and politics.

To AKP governments, Turkey should be defined as a *central country*, suggesting that Turkish rulers adopt a Turkey-centric worldview in defining national interests and policies. In addition, Turkey should be in a position to feel itself as part of each and every geographical location. The main foreign policy objective of Turkey should be to help shape regional developments decisively and to forge interests-based *pragmatic* relationships with key global actors. Turkish foreign policy should be defined and conducted in a *multi-lateral* and *multi-dimensional* fashion so as to make sure that regional and global developments do not negatively affect the liberal democratic transformation and economic development processes at home.

Turkey has been striving to play a more *possessive* and *shaping* role in the transformation process of NATO in the post-Cold War environment. Even though Turkey's success in affecting NATO's transformation process in its interest is open to debate, what seems to be non-debatable is that Turkey has begun to take initiatives during this process. As the former Turkish Prime Minister has been quiet often stating in recent years, Turkey strives to be the *subject* and *owner* of the Alliance, instead of being a mere *object* of NATO's policies (Davutoğlu, 2012, 7-17). Turkey's objective in this regard has been to play more effective roles in NATO's transformation process to ensure that the policies to be adopted by NATO allies do not negatively affect Turkey's *multi-lateral* national identity, and *multi-dimensional* and *multi-directional* foreign policy interests.

Some examples of Turkey's new attitude towards NATO as described above are as follows: Turkey provided military support to the peace-keeping operations carried out by NATO in the Balkans (especially in Bosnia and Kosovo); Turkey supported NATO's expansion toward Poland, Czech Republic and Hungary; Turkey participated in and led the multinational NATO forces in Afghanistan; Turkey took part in NATO's limited involvement in Libya in 2011; Turkey let NATO install radar facilities of the missile defense system in its territories; and Turkey encouraged the Alliance in its efforts to help radiate NATO's values to the countries, which are not to be NATO members, within the framework of NATO's Partnership for Peace Program (Karaosmanoğlu, 1999, 213-224).

Turkey has also adopted a more *questioning* and *critical* stance throughout NATO's transformation process (Oğuzlu, 2012, 153-164). Turkey's main objective has been to prevent the transformation process of NATO from negatively affecting its relations with its neighbors as well as the positive perception of Turkey in the Islamic world. For example, Turkey has taken great pains to walk a fine line between the Alliance and Russia. From Turkey's perspective, NATO should take into consideration Russia's concerns and sensitivities. In Turkish eyes, NATO's expansion towards Russia and efforts to increase its military presence around the Black Sea region might be perceived as threatening by Russia and consequently might lead Russians to feel

besieged. This situation would likely result in Russia pursuing more nationalist and expansionist policies. This might in turn lead Turkish-Russian relations to be defined on the basis of rivalry and hostility.

Similar to other European allies, particularly Germany and France, Turkey holds the view that Russia's concerns should have been given more attention while developing NATO's policies concerning enlargement and the missile defense system. Despite the fact that Turkey has given its support to the NATO's latest efforts to bolster its reassurance and deterrence capabilities in the aftermath of the Russian assertiveness in Ukraine, it would not be wrong to assert that Turkey has taken an utmost care to adopt a balanced and prudent approach on this issue. This should be seen as a testimony to its critical stance towards NATO's relations with Russia.

Moreover, Turkey has evaluated NATO's missile defense shield system in the context of its relations with Iran. The assumption held by the security circles in Turkey was that in case some parts of this system were installed in Turkish territories, Iran might have considered it as a threat against itself and adopted a more hostile attitude towards Turkey. This very much explains why Turkey increased its efforts to ensure that NATO's new security document adopted in Lisbon in November 2010 does not mention Iran as a threat and emphasize that the radar component of the system to be deployed in Turkey is for purely defensive purposes.

A similar situation could also be observed in the appointment process of NATO's new Secretary-General in 2009. Turkey initially opposed to the appointment of Denmark's then-Prime Minister Rasmussen as NATO Secretary-General. The offensive attitude adopted by Rasmussen in the cartoon crisis against Muslims in 2005 was effective in Turkey's opposition. Had Turkey tolerated and approved the appointment of a person, who finds it right to criticize and satirize sacred values of Islam on the grounds of freedom of expression, this might have negatively affected Turkey's soft power and improving image across the Muslim world in recent years. Eventually, following the last-ditched efforts of U.S. President Obama Turkey lifted its objections to Rasmussen's candidacy.

Similar Turkish concerns can also be noticed in the context of NATO's role and mission in Afghanistan. Turkey sent troops to the

international ISAF forces under the command of NATO, but wanted these troops to perform civilian duties rather than combat roles. Turkey demonstrated a maximum effort for NATO's fight against Al-Qaeda and Taliban forces not to be perceived as a fight against Islam.

Despite adopting a critical and questioning attitude on some of the issues coming to the agenda of the Alliance, Turkey has at the same time paid an utmost care not to veto any particular decision should all other allies agree on. Turkey has not wanted to be seen as the maverick within the Alliance. The best example of this attitude took place on the occasion of NATO's military operation in Libya. Turkey initially opposed to NATO's intervention in Libya. This operation was at the beginning launched by Britain and France outside NATO framework and then taken over by the Alliance. Turkey was extremely sensitive on the possibility of this NATO operation causing severe human losses in Libya and negatively affecting Turkey's image across the Islamic world. However, once the allies sorted out their disagreements and decided that NATO should take over the operational responsibility, Turkey became a part of this consensus. However, Turkey played an important role in setting the limits and operational mandate of the operation to be carried out in Libya. Turkey was highly sensitive that ground troops not be used during the operation and the primary mission to be controlling the embargo imposed on Gaddafi forces from the sea and air.

Turkey also wants to play an active role in NATO's efforts to reach out to the Middle East, Eastern Mediterranean and Persian Gulf regions. For example, Turkey actively supported NATO's Mediterranean Dialogue and the Istanbul Cooperation Initiatives (ICI). Turkey lent its support to NATO's efforts to develop lasting security cooperation with the countries in those regions and to project its values.

Turkey's new attitude towards the Alliance has been informed by more interests-based calculations than identity-related considerations. This can be best observed in Turkey's position on the institutional relationship between NATO and EU. Turkey has wanted to make use of its membership in NATO in the context of EU's attempts at having access to NATO's military capabilities and operational facilities. Turkey's stance on this issue cannot be dissociated from the dynamics of Turkey's relations

with the European Union. It would not be wrong to argue that Turkey did not ease the way for the EU to have access to NATO's facilities and capabilities so long as the EU members adopted a reluctant attitude towards Turkey's accession to the EU and questioned the credentials of Turkey's European identity and place in European security architecture.

Turkey's new attitude towards the Alliance seems to have also been informed by more the risks of being entrapped by NATO's policies than the risks of being abandoned by the Alliance. As Turkey's dependency on NATO in terms of security and identity decreased, Turkey has adopted a more questioning attitude towards the Alliance. This attitude, however, by no means suggests that Turkey underestimates NATO's vitality in the materialization of its security interests in the emerging security environments at regional and global levels.

Although Turkey's dependency on NATO is decreasing and that the Alliance is losing its erstwhile privileged position in the context of Turkey's foreign and security policies, Turkey still attaches importance to NATO and the security guarantees it provides. Turkey's reliance on NATO has recently become evident as the so-called Arab Spring has turned to a winter. The way the Arab Spring has unfolded thus far seems to have dashed Turkey's hopes to help bring into existence a new regional order in which Turkey would act as a role model in the transformation of the entire region in line with liberal-democratic norms. The growing specter of territorial disintegration in Iraq and Syria, the ongoing threat of the Islamic State in the region, the transformation of the Middle East into an ungovernable anarchic environment in an Hobbesian fashion following the US military withdrawal and the new dynamics of Kurdish movement across the region seem to have all added up to Turkey's insecurity feelings.

As of today, it seems that Turkey has rediscovered the usefulness of the Alliance particularly given that the ongoing internal war in Syria carries the risk of putting Turkey's territorial security into jeopardy. Turkey's decision to ask for the Alliance to deploy surface-to-air Patriot missiles along the Syrian border is of particular note in this context.

Membership in NATO is still the most important evidence of Turkey's place in the Western international society. Withdrawing from NATO

or adopting an obstructionist attitude within the Alliance would bring into existence serious suspicions on Turkey's foreign policy intentions and interests. This situation will affect Turkey's relations with Western actors negatively.

NATO is still important for Turkey, yet Turkey's changing identity and interests will continue to lead Turkish decision makers to adopt more questioning and critical attitudes towards the Alliance in the years to come. NATO will hardly maintain its privileged position in Turkish security thinking as it had in the past.



Figure 6.7



your turn ³

Which factors do you think motivated Turkish decision makers to apply for membership in NATO?

CONCLUSION

This chapter examined the diplomatic and foreign policy dynamics of the Republic of Turkey's since the early 1920s. It demonstrated the impact of structural and conjectural factors in this regard. Then an attempt was made at discussing the actors, instruments and processes of Turkish diplomacy. Finally, Turkey's relations with the collective defense organization NATO was examined in detail as a case study showing how Turkey's diplomacy practices have evolved since the early years of the Cold War era till now.

LO 1

Comprehend the dynamics of Turkish Diplomacy in a categorical way

Structural factors are those that tend to have long-term impact on Turkish diplomacy and foreign policy. These factors do not change easily from time to time and offer a particular contextual environment in which Turkish decision makers tend to interpret external developments. Their impact is deep and they are well internalized by diplomatic elites and people alike. Structural factors have a lasting impact on Turkey's diplomacy and foreign policy. Structural factors are the Ottoman legacy, Westernization process, Atatürk's legacy and geography. In addition to the structural factors, Turkish diplomacy and foreign policy has also been informed by the confluence of some conjectural factors which tend to have short term impact on how Turkey's diplomatic practices have unfolded since the early 1920s. These factors are the shifts in the structure of international system and political ideologies of ruling elites at different times.

LO 2

Distinguish the actors, processes and tools of Turkish Diplomacy as they have evolved since the foundation of the Turkish Republic

The government is the main actor in charge of defining Turkey's foreign policy interests and diplomatic goals. Constitutionally speaking it is the elected representatives of the Turkish people that have the final authority to determine Turkey's foreign policy orientation. Despite the primacy of elected civilians in this process, the appointed bureaucrats in state administration have long played the most decisive role. It is with the reign of Justice and Development Party (AKP) governments that the process of civilianization in Turkish foreign policy has begun to take strong roots. Many key foreign policy decisions since the early 2000s have been taken by the elected politicians and high level bureaucrats in state administration have been relegated to advisory roles. Foreign policy decision making process in Turkey is now both centralized and civilianized. The input of public opinion is traditionally limited, yet recent decades have witnessed that governments have increasingly taken into account the potential consequences of foreign policy decisions on domestic politics. As of today, Turkey has more than 200 diplomatic missions all around globe. While ambassadorial missions deal with diplomatic and political issues, consulates are in charge of dealing with social, cultural and similar problems of Turkish people living in other countries. Turkey's strong military power capability constitutes the most important source of Turkish diplomacy. The employment of civilian and soft power instruments in Turkish diplomacy has also become noticeable in recent years. Improving Turkey's positive image in the eyes of other countries does also constitute an important part of Turkish diplomatic efforts in recent years.

1 Conjectural and temporal factors in Turkish foreign policy include: _____

- a. Atatürk's legacy
- b. Westernization process
- c. Political ideologies of ruling governments
- d. Turkey's geographical location
- e. The legacy of the Ottoman Empire

2 The Ottoman Legacy in Turkish foreign policy is about the impact of: _____

- a. The changing dynamics of international system.
- b. The pragmatic and prudent foreign policy practices during Atatürk's era.
- c. The political ideology of center-of-right parties in Turkish domestic politics.
- d. Turkey's aspiration to join the European Union.
- e. The strong state tradition in defining foreign and security policy interests.

3 The importance of Turkey's geographical location in Turkish diplomacy can be seen in:

- a. Turkey's efforts to play an order-creator role in Middle East over the last decade
- b. Turkey's efforts to convince the EU that Turkey might help the latter meet its energy needs
- c. Turkey's efforts to undertake thorough Westernization process during Atatürk's time
- d. Turkey's decision to bring into existence a league of Turkic nations under Turkey's leadership
- e. Turkey's ability to pursue a multi-dimensional and multi-directional foreign policy during the detente period in Cold War, 1960-1980.

4 Which of the following is an example of center-of-right political ideology in Turkish diplomacy?

- a. Establishing a security alliance with the Soviet Union
- b. Pursuing non-alignment foreign policy during the Cold War
- c. Making Turkey the leader of the community of Muslim nations
- d. Making sure that Turkey joins the key Western/European international organizations
- e. Making sure that Turkey leaves NATO and comes closer to Eurasian countries

5 Which of the following is an example of Turkish diplomacy during the 1945-1960 time period?

- a. Turkey pursued a predominantly pro-Western foreign policy
- b. Turkey's efforts to develop strong relations with Russia and Iran increased
- c. Turkey pursued neutrality foreign policy
- d. Turkey applied for full membership in the European Union
- e. Turkey worked for the establishment of the Saadabad Pact

6 Which of the following can be said about Turkish diplomacy during the reign of the Justice and Development Party?

- a. Turkey's ideational commitment to the Western international community persisted
- b. Turkey gave up the idea of joining the European Union
- c. Turkey wanted to leave NATO as part of its efforts to develop more strategic cooperation with Russia, China and Iran
- d. The role of elected civilians/politicians in Turkish diplomacy has strengthened
- e. Turkey continued to heavily rely on hard power instruments in its diplomacy

7 Which of the following is an example of the employment of hard power instruments in Turkish diplomacy over the last fifteen years?

- a. The number of Turkish embassies all over the world increased
- b. Turkey organized military operations outside its borders to respond to growing security challenges
- c. TRT and Turkish Airlines became important instruments of Turkish diplomacy
- d. Turkey increased its developmental and humanitarian aids to poor countries
- e. Businessmen increasingly took part in the official visits of Turkish rulers to other countries.

8 Turkey's membership in NATO is important, because: _____

- a. Turkey's ability pursue a non-aligned foreign policy increased
- b. Turkey's Western allies always supported Turkey's foreign policy and diplomatic practices
- c. This increased the chance of Turkey's membership in the European Union
- d. Turkey could develop an equal relationship with the United States within NATO
- e. This strengthened the credentials of Turkey's Western/European identity

9 During the post-Cold War era, Turkey's approach towards NATO reflects _____

- a. Turkey's determination to influence the transformation of the Alliance from within by making its voice heard more loudly
- b. Turkey's determination to block NATO's enlargement towards the former communist countries in central and eastern Europe
- c. Turkey's intention to help weaken the alliance from within by spooling many of its policies
- d. Turkey's intention to leave the alliance and join Shanghai Cooperation Organization
- e. Turkey's uncritical support to the improvement of institutional relations between NATO and the European Union

10 During the post-Cold War era, Turkey: _____

- a. Continued to maintain its uncritical commitment to NATO membership
- b. Argued for the enlargement of NATO to Middle East
- c. Wanted to make sure that NATO's approach towards Russia does not affect Turkey's relations with Russia negatively
- d. Did not contribute to multinational military operations organized by NATO
- e. Supported Russia's membership in NATO

1. c	If your answer is incorrect, review the section on “Temporal and Conjectural Factors”	6. d	If your answer is incorrect, review the section on “Actors, Processes and Tools of Turkish Diplomacy”
2. e	If your answer is incorrect, review the section on “Ottoman Legacy”	7. b	If your answer is incorrect, review the section on “Actors, Processes and Tools of Turkish Diplomacy”
3. b	If your answer is incorrect, review the section on “Geography is the Destiny”	8. e	If your answer is incorrect, review the section on “Turkey’s Relations With NATO as a Case Study”
4. d	If your answer is incorrect, review the section on “Political Ideologies”	9. a	If your answer is incorrect, review the section on “Post-Cold War Period: New definitions of Interests and Identity”
5. a	If your answer is incorrect, review the section on “International System”	10. c	If your answer is incorrect, review the section on “Post-Cold War Period: New definitions of Interests and Identity”

Comment on Ataturk’s Legacy in Turkish Foreign Policy

your turn 1

To Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, the founder of the Republic, and his comrades in arms, Turkey’s number one national interest during the 1920s and 1930s was to protect the newly gained independence and sovereignty as well as successfully completing the radical transformation process at home. This required the pursuit of a pragmatic, prudent and realist foreign policy, enshrining the principle of ‘peace at home peace in the world’. Turkish rulers tried to help bring into existence a stable and cooperative regional environment so that developments outside the borders would never have negative consequences on the ongoing modernization and development processes at home. In this sense, there seems to exist a strong degree of continuity between Turkey’s efforts to support regional cooperation during the interwar years through the Balkan Entente and Saadabad Pact and the attempts of the Justice and Development Party governments at encouraging regional cooperation initiatives over the last fifteen years. Pragmatism also suggested that Turkey would do well to construct friendly relations with former enemies. Involvement in the internal affairs of other states and pursuit of expansionist and irredentist foreign policies do not hold any place in Ataturk’s diplomatic legacy. This is the main reason why any attempt at regime change abroad is very much criticized at home. Traditional Turkish diplomacy is based on the idea that states are independent in their internal affairs and Turkey should not be involved in the business of regime change or value promotion. Trying to solve national security problems through diplomacy and international law is another legacy of Ataturk. The revision of the Lasuagne regulations on the status of Turkish Straits through the Montreaux Convention in 1936, the incorporation of Hatay region into Turkey in 1939, and the settlement of the Mousul question and the border dispute with Iraq in 1926 are all examples to the use of international law and diplomacy in Turkish foreign policy. Diplomacy backed by hard power capability and diplomatic initiatives conferring legitimacy on military victories constitute the backbone of Ataturk’s diplomatic legacy.

What kind of soft and civilian power instruments are employed in Turkey’s diplomatic practices abroad?

your turn 2

Desecuritization of bilateral relations with neighboring countries, particularly with the ones located in the Middle East; helping bring into existence EU-like regional integration mechanisms in its region; investing in multilateral problems in its effort to find solutions to regional problems; taking ‘mediatory and facilitation initiatives’ in the solution of disputes between other countries’ and intensifying the social and cultural exchanges with other countries in social, cultural, tourism and educational levels all now shape Turkish diplomatic practices decisively. Improving Turkey’s positive image in the eyes of other countries does also constitute an important part of Turkish diplomatic efforts in recent years. Investing in public diplomacy initiatives, transforming the Turkish Airlines into one of the largest air-carriers all over the world, founding the English language TRT-World, redesigning the TRT as a multi-lingual broadcasting company, increasing humanitarian and development aids to poor and needy countries, and establishing particular state institutions in charge of dealing with the problems of Turkish-origin people in the countries which host sizable Turkish communities can all be considered as important soft power initiatives.

Which factors do you think motivated Turkish decision makers to apply for membership in NATO?

your turn 3

The most important factor that facilitated Turkey’s accession to the Alliance was that the United States, as being the most important NATO member, attributed a tremendous importance to Turkey’s geopolitical position and military capacity in the context of Cold War’s security dynamics. The assumption on the part of the US strategists was that the task of fulfilling NATO’s containment and deterrence strategies vis-à-vis the Soviet Union would be much easier if Turkey joined the Alliance and prevented the Soviet penetration into the eastern Mediterranean and Middle Eastern regions. Another factor that initially pushed Turkey to seek membership in NATO and later on proved to be one of the main reasons for its justification in the eyes of Turkish people was that NATO membership was considered as an important milestone in Turkey’s decades-old Westernization/Europeanization/modernization process. Thanks to NATO membership, Turkey could argue for many years that it was a Western/European state. Compared to other Western international organizations, it proved to be much easier for Turkey to help legitimize its Western/European identity through NATO, for the alliance was in dire need of having access to Turkey’s geographical location and military capabilities. It was within NATO that Turkey’s bargaining capability vis-à-vis the West was the highest.

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Chapter 7

Diplomacy Practices of Global Powers

After completing this chapter, you will be able to:

Learning Outcomes

1 Analyze the diplomacy practices of global power from a theoretical perspective

2 Asses the diplomatic practices of major global powers, such as United States, European Union, China and Russia

Chapter Outline

Introduction
Theoretical Analysis of Global Powers' Diplomacy
Diplomacy of the United States
Diplomacy of the European Union
Diplomacy of China
Diplomacy of Russia
Conclusion

Key Terms

- Global Powers
- Diplomacy
- United States
- European Union
- China
- Russia
- Realpolitik
- Isolationism
- Liberal Internationalism
- Neo-Conservatism
- Realism
- Value Promotion



INTRODUCTION

This chapter is about the diplomatic practices of global powers. Understanding the diplomatic practices of such global powers as the United States (U.S.), European Union (EU), Russia and China will help us better capture the evolution of international systems as well as comprehend the dynamics of international politics and the future direction of global order. The primacy of western global powers has in recent years been challenged by the rising non-western powers. The liberal international order that came into being in the aftermath of the Second World War under the dominance of the United States is now being exposed to various challenges, of which the spectacular rise of China as well as the growing Russian attempts at regional and global influence stand out (Ikenberry, 2018, 7-23).

The first part of the chapter will discuss the importance of global powers in international relations from a theoretical perspective. The main question to be answered is in which ways global powers are different from other states in international relations in terms of foreign policy understanding and diplomatic practices and why it is important to examine their foreign policies and diplomatic practices. Then, the attention will switch to the examination of diplomacy of current global powers in detail.

THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF GLOBAL POWERS' DIPLOMACY

Analyzing foreign policy behaviors of states requires an in-depth examination of the motivations that influence state leaders in their external actions (Smith, Hadfield and Dunne, 2012). Whereas one group of scholars argues that foreign policy behaviors are mainly a function of intangible factors of material power capabilities, geographical locations, and external developments, another group contends that intangible factors of personality traits, belief systems, world views, ideologies and cultures play more decisive roles (Neack, 2014).

This discussion can also be boiled down to the debate whether foreign policy is a function of interests or values (Oguzlu, 2013, 39-51). In case interests dominate foreign policy choices and behaviors of actors, states are mainly motivated

in their external relations by the concern of maximizing their material power capabilities as well as ensuring their long-term survival. Here, neither internal characteristics at home nor the way how other states are ruled in their domestic affairs has a role in shaping foreign policy. Engaging others and responding to external stimuli is basically a function of the instrumental calculation of how much benefit one could extract from such exercises.

On the other hand, in case values and norms shape foreign policy, the question of '*who* states are' significantly shapes the questions of '*what* states want and *how* states behave. Looking at foreign policy from this perspective, state leaders bother to ask how others are ruled in their internal affairs and which values they embrace domestically. Foreign policy mainly targets the internal transformation of other states in the image of the values and norms that one holds at home.

A third group of scholars combines the insights of these two approaches and claims that singling out one set of variables at the negligence of others will not bring us anywhere close to understanding the complexity of the real world. They suggest that scholars had better adopt a more holistic approach in this process. The so-called neo-classical realist approach in International Relations can for example be interpreted as a scholarly attempt at successfully merging the tangible and intangible motivations of states' foreign policy behaviors (Lobell, Ripsman and Taliaferro, 2009). Put simply, neoclassical realism posits that making sense of the tangible factors out there is made through the intangible factors that constitute states' identities and values.

Many middle and small-sized powers are much more preoccupied with their survival. Compared to global powers, their room of maneuvering is limited. Their success in ensuring survival hinges on their ability to play global powers off against each other, viz. external balancing, rather than solely investing in their own material capabilities, viz. internal balancing (Goodby, 2014, 31-39). Their foreign policy behaviors aim primarily at mitigating the negative consequences of global power competitions on their internal stability and external sovereignty. Compared to global powers, middle and small-sized powers find it difficult to pursue value-oriented normative foreign policies mainly because their material power capabilities are limited.

On the other hand, global powers are in a much better position than middle and small-sized powers to ground their foreign policies on the basis of both tangible interests and intangible values. The immense material power capabilities at their disposal empower them in their attempts at shaping the external milieu, rather than merely responding to external stimuli in a reactionary manner. That is also to say that adopting a soft-power oriented foreign policy approach is likely to be the prerogative of strong global powers. Investing in value projection abroad and relying on 'power of attraction' in dealing with others indirectly require a good deal of hard power capability. Global powers do not only feel secure in terms of their territorial integrity but also find it easy to parley their immense material power capabilities to value-oriented transformative policies abroad.

Unlike some middle powers and many small-sized powers, global powers have the luxury of helping bring into existence a particular external environment to their liking, as well as making use of the existing power balances within the system to maximize their material power capabilities. Stated somewhat differently, global powers do not only aim at maximizing their power capabilities at the expense of their rivals but also endeavor to midwife a particular external environment that reflects their values and norms (Mearsheimer, 2003).

It is not easy to ascertain when global powers prioritize value-oriented transformative foreign policies or put power maximization at the center of their external behaviors. These two concerns are most of the time intermingled with each other and meeting one generally requires the fulfillment of the other. Just as immense material power capabilities enable global powers to set in motion value-oriented transformative foreign policies, successful normative/transformative foreign policies help them bring into existence suitable environments in which they find it much easier to preserve and improve their material well-being.

For example, making sense of foreign policy and diplomatic practices of the U.S. in the Middle East cannot be properly accomplished without taking into account the ideational/value-oriented logic of democracy promotion along with the materialist/interest-related logic of furthering regional stability. Similarly, the post-Cold War era

American efforts to invest more in East Asia have aimed at both containing China's rise materially and ensuring China's integration and socialization to the liberal international world order normatively. Likewise, the Chinese foreign and security policy reflects the realpolitik interest of limiting the access of external actors to East and South East Asia as well as the normative aspiration of midwifing a China-friendly environment in which Pax-Sinica is deemed legitimate. Russia's foreign policy undertakings in Eastern Europe, wider Black Sea and wider Middle Eastern regions do also manifest a similar logic. Many Russian diplomatic activities target both maximizing Russia's sphere of influence in such locations and convincing other actors that the values of 'sovereign democracy', 'inviolability of territorial borders', 'non-interference in internal affairs of other states' and 'great power primacy' are seen legitimate.



your turn ¹

Comment on the key characteristics of global powers in terms of their foreign policy and diplomacy.

DIPLOMACY OF THE UNITED STATES

At its foundation, the U.S. proved to be different from traditional powers in Europe and other continents. The immigrant nature of the American society led the founders of the republic to build their country on the basis of liberal, democratic and pluralist norms, further enshrining the principles of individual freedom, free entrepreneurship, limited government and checks and balances in the Constitution. In the realm of diplomacy and foreign policy, the rulers of the country long shunned the practices of getting involved in other states' internal affairs and becoming part of geo-political competitions in other continents. The geographical location of the country, being walled from other places through two oceans to the east and west, enabled the early generations to focus their attention solely on economic development and political cohesion at home.



Figure 7.1

Unless other continents, most notably Europe and Asia, came under the domination of an anti-American power block and unless any other global power threatened the U.S. national interests by trying to take a strong presence in America's near abroad, the U.S. leaders did not show strong enthusiasm to pursue ambitious policies to institutionalize American dominance across the globe. Hence the strong 'isolationist' impulse in American diplomatic practices (Johnstone, 2011, 8-13). The U.S.' involvement in WW1 and WW2 followed the specter of European and Asian geopolitical theatres coming under the dominance of anti-American power blocks. By the time the WW2 came to the end, the U.S. had already become the most powerful global actor ever seen in terms of material power capabilities and the ability to help shape the world in its own image.

Since the early years of the Cold War era, the U.S. has mainly adopted an 'internationalist' mentality and acted as a liberal power putting its liberal democratic norms at the center of its foreign and security policy engagements across the globe (Johnstone, 2011, 13-17). Realist and pragmatic tendencies in American foreign policy have almost always been in sync with the liberal democratic nature of U.S. polity at home. The projection of American norms onto other places in the name of U.S. national security interests has sometimes been pursued with strong determination and commitment whereas at other times with circumspect and caution (Milne, 2015). While the so-called 'liberal internationalists' argue that the U.S. would do well to help promote such norms through international institutions and multilateral mechanisms, the so-called 'neo-conservatives' see the use of military power in dealing with authoritarian and illiberal states and supporting liberal democratic norms. Despite the fact that 'realists' and isolationists abhor adventures abroad

and argue against the use of force unless vital national interests were at stake, they nevertheless side with the liberal internationalist camp in defining the U.S. as an exceptional country and put the American values and way of life at the highest place in the hierarchy of global norms and values.

The world order as it came into existence following the end of the Second World War reflected predominantly American power, norms and interests (Ikenberry, 2011). The key international organizations, such as the United Nations, International Monetary Fund, World Bank and NATO all embody the American principles and preferences. The U.S. also played a facilitative role in the foundation of the European Union. The assumption was that economic, social and political integration among western European liberal democratic states would not only bring into existence a strong market for American goods and capital but also help the U.S. contain the existential threat emanating from the Soviet Union more cost-effectively. In addition to the multilateral NATO in Europe, the U.S. also masterminded the so-called 'hub and spokes' alliance structure in the Asia-Pacific theater, through which forming bilateral strategic alliances with the liberal democratic states in this region became possible.

The end of the Cold War era paved the way for strengthening American primacy across the globe, as no other power was in a position to shake up the foundations of this uni-polar era for about fifteen years. The 1990s and much of the 2000s demonstrated that the U.S. was the indispensable power on earth. Through its involvement, both the ethnic wars in the Balkans came to an end and western norms and intuitions were enlarged to erstwhile communist countries in central and eastern Europe. The enlargement of NATO and European Union towards the former communist countries bolstered the U.S. primacy in Europe, whereas the percolation of the so-called Washington consensus across the globe solidified the capitalist and liberal-democratic principles in other locations. Hence, the famous 'End of History' thesis of the prominent American scholar Francis Fukuyama (Fukuyama, 1992).

The ominous terrorist attacks on U.S. territories on Sep. 11, 2001, did not only awaken the American rulers to the rise of a new world order that might not

be as hospitable as the one before, but also urged them to engage in a global war on terror, during which American troops set foot in Afghanistan to topple Taliban and in Iraq to overthrow Saddam's regime. That the U.S. mainly adopted a unilateral and militaristic course of action in its efforts both to defeat the forces of evil in the wider Middle Eastern region and midwife liberal democratic regimes across the globe, most of the time at the urge of neoconservatives, appears to have inadvertently pushed other global actors to doubt U.S.' 'secret' intentions behind such policies and increasingly challenge the pax-Americana. The challenge emanated not only from the jihadist extremist Al-Qaeda and its affiliates but also the rising powers of the non-western world whose peculiar economic and socio-political models appear to have offered strong alternatives across the globe.

The steady increase in material power capabilities of non-western powers, the abject failure of the American nation-building projects in different quarters of the globe, the economic crisis that hit the western world severely in late 2008 and the growing appeal of non-western world visions have led Americans to go through a soul-searching process and find ways to successfully adapt to the new realities on the ground.

The election of Barack Obama to presidency in late 2008 can be read not only as the demonstration of the frustration of the American electorate with the policies of the Bush administration but also the growing need to adjust to the emerging dynamics of the post-American world order. Despite Donald Trump's strong criticisms of Obama administrations' foreign policy practices, the former appears to continue with the basic foreign policy strategy of the latter with some nuances. Both rejected nation-building exercises in foreign countries and adopted a more realist and pragmatic foreign policy approach than a liberal one. However, whereas Obama was of more 'multilateralist', Trump seems to be more 'bilateralist' and 'unilateralist'.

The Obama administration recognized that the U.S. was no longer in a position to pursue a 'primacist' strategy across the globe (Kaplan, 2016, 46-63). Even though Trump accuses Obama of pursuing 'retrenchment' and 'leading from behind' strategies and therefore contributing to the erosion of American leadership, both saw the strategy of

democracy promotion as futile in the emerging multipolar world order. The relative decline in American material power capabilities and the rise of alternative ideational and normative challenges put by non-western powers appear to have led both presidents to put nation-building at home at the center of their foreign policies. This introvert approach and increasing aversion from military engagements abroad seem to have strengthened the realist, pragmatic and isolationist tendencies in U.S. foreign policy. The ambivalent and equivocal attitude of the U.S. during the course of the so-called Arab Spring is a clear evidence of the realist and pragmatic turn in U.S. foreign policy.

The United States is no longer in a mood of planning long-term nation-building projects in war-torn and post-conflict societies. The failures in Iraq, Afghanistan and Syria demonstrate that the U.S. is not good at nation-building. Withdrawal from Iraq and Afghanistan has strengthened the U.S.'s reluctance to get militarily involved in similar theaters, such as Syria.

Both Obama and Trump recognized that the U.S. should no longer play the role of global hegemon in maintaining peace and security. Contrary to the 'hegemonic stability theory', the US does not want to play the role of benign hegemon any longer. As for the relations with traditional allies, the key message the United States is now sending is that those allies should spend more on their security and defense. They should not take the American commitment to their security for granted. European allies should both speed up their integration process within EU and contribute more strategic and military capabilities to NATO (Haas, 2017, 2-9). Dealing with the challenges arising from the resurgent Russia, instability in the Balkans and the growing anarchy in the Middle East and North Africa is first and foremost the responsibility of European allies. What happens in these locations affect Europe more than the U.S. It is now abundantly clear that that the U.S. does not want to channel too much of its attention and capabilities to European and Middle Eastern security challenges. Rather, it would like to see its European allies pay much of the bill in such theatres. With Obama and Trump, the focus on great power relations came back. Dealing with China and Russia now appears to be more important than focusing on humanitarian interventions, counter-terrorism and democracy promotion exercises.

For NATO to remain relevant for U.S. security interests, European allies need to increase their military contribution to the alliance. For the US to continue providing peace and stability in East Asia, its traditional allies there should take on more responsibility. For example, the U.S. is not against the reinterpretation of the Article 9 of the Japanese constitution that forbids both the Japanese use of force in contingencies other than self-defense and Japan's participation in collective defense cooperation with third countries. In the American eyes, the rise of China and its alleged military assertiveness in East China and South China Seas is not a threat solely posed to the United States. Traditional American allies in the region also feel threatened. Therefore, Washington is keen on the point that defensive security cooperation among American allies in the region is vital. Similar to allies in Europe, East Asian allies should not take it for granted that the U.S. will come to their aid automatically.

The way how the U.S. has been responding to the rise of China and other non-western powers does also speak volumes with respect to American reading of the new world order. As it is by now undoubtedly clear, the U.S. has been cognizant of the fact that the world is changing at great speed and the existing global institutions, many of which came into being in the immediate aftermath of the WWII, should be restructured in such a way to reflect the current power configurations more fairly. However, this is easier said than done. There have been some reforms concerning the representation of rising powers in the institutional structure of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. Yet, many other international institutions do still reflect western primacy and the post-war era power configurations.

The conventional American view concerning China's rise is that the U.S. would do well to help integrate China into existing international institutions so that China would gradually act as a responsible stakeholder and demonstrate more commitment to the preservation of the existing order (Layne, 2018, 89-111). In the eyes of Americans, China is certainly posing a serious challenge to U.S. global primacy. Americans appear to have rediscovered that they are now more an Indo-Pacific and East Asian nation than a European one. Much of the American trade is now with East and South Asian countries and the nature of the

bilateral relationship between Washington and Beijing does now affect American and global peace and stability more than Washington's relationship with Brussels or any other European capital.



Figure 7.2

Americans view relations with China through multiple prisms, most importantly security and economics. The pivot-to-Asia strategy seems to have already strengthened its credentials across the American security establishment. Needless to say, geopolitical, demographic, economic and security developments in East Asia will become more and more important for the U.S. as time goes by. The growing interdependence between China and U.S. makes the dynamics of this bilateral relationship quite significant for global peace and security. Whether some call this relationship as 'G-2' or 'Chimerica', the way how it unfolds will affect almost every country on earth. On one hand, Americans view China's increasing military capabilities as threatening and therefore try to contain this potential danger. On the other, the U.S. continues to invest a lot of effort and money in engaging China through bilateral and multilateral mechanisms so that China adopts conciliatory and benign foreign policies and views the existing international order legitimate. The combination of containment and engagement strategies, viz. the con-gagement strategy, seems to capture the current U.S. approach to China well.

The U.S.' view of Russia is also important, for the dynamics of Russian-American relations will profoundly impact peace in Europe and beyond (Biden and Carpenter, 2018, 44-57). According to many American foreign and security policy experts, the ideology of Putinism is clearly anti-American, revivalist, nationalistic and unilateral. Despite such a grim picture of Putin's Russia, Americans do not put Russia on an equal footing with China.

Russia is a power in decay and many of the policies it has adopted in recent years reflect its growing incapacity to deal with the western encroachment on its near abroad. That is to say that it is highly unlikely for the Russian Federation to threaten the security interests of transatlantic allies as it had in the past. Russia is very much dependent on the West in terms of technology, markets for its natural resources and foreign direct investment. Besides, Russia is suffering from a decreasing population with a grave alcohol problem.

Both state and non-state actors are quite influential in the U.S. foreign policy making process. Compared to their Chinese and Russian counterparts, American presidents are weaker in the sense that they need to share authority with the US Congress. Due to its open society character, civil society organizations, organized interests groups, other states and ethnic lobbies have access to key decision makers located in Washington. The reason why the founders of the republic envisaged a weak presidency was to make sure that authoritarian leaders not impose their will on the nation and the U.S. becomes a military security state. The strong legacy of isolationism and continental Americanism even led the decision makers to focus their attention mainly on domestic issues at the expense of foreign policy issues.

In the US state apparatus, Department of Defense, Department of State, National Security Council, National Economic Council, Department of Commerce, Department of Treasury, Central Intelligence Organization, and United State Trade Representative do all to aid the President in the formulation of U.S. foreign policy interests. The President is in charge of the execution of foreign policy and acts as the commander in chief during peace and war times.

The Congressmen do also have constitutional authority in shaping foreign policy. The authority to declare war, to send troops abroad for longer than three months, to sign alliance treaties, to sign trade agreements, to approve ambassadors, to raise taxes rest with the Congress.



your turn ²

Comment on the roots of isolationism in the diplomacy of the United States

DIPLOMACY OF THE EUROPEAN UNION

The EU is by far the most successful example of international institutions aiming at transcending traditional/modern interstate relations through the formation of collective identities and supranational institutions. What seems to set the EU apart from other polities is that the post-modern logic underpinning its integration process has mainly culminated in the formation of a security community among its members as well as the prioritization of multiple interdependencies and soft/normative power instruments in its relations with external actors (Bremberg, 2015, 674-692). Rather than subscribing to the modern understanding of forging international relations on the basis of clear-cut inside-outside distinctions, the success of the EU emanates from its ability to have brought into existence a new understanding thereby its foreign policy takes its legitimacy from the common 'we' feeling among members. While the intensity and depth of this feeling is much higher among member states, external actors also feel themselves identified with the EU to different degrees.

The contribution of the EU to international peace and cooperation mainly stems from its success in institutionalizing the post-modern logic in interstate relations that increasingly casts doubts on the legitimacy of 'self-other' dichotomies. The post-modern values of cosmopolitanism, multiculturalism, secular universalism, multiple interdependencies and soft-power oriented policies abroad have gradually transcended the modern practices of balance of power politics, realpolitik security strategies, self-other distinctions and the prioritization of hard power instruments in interstate relations.

The EU does not speak with one voice in the realm of foreign policy. On foreign policy, security and defense issues member states still preserve the right to veto any decision they think is not in their national interests (McCormick, 2014). Foreign policy decisions are taken most of the time through unanimity, despite the fact that the Lisbon Treaty of 2009 broadened the scope of taking decisions through the principle of qualified majority. The European Council and the European Commission are more privileged than European Parliament and other organs of the European Union in terms of foreign policy. The President of the European

Council and the EU High Representative for security and foreign policy are the most powerful bureaucrats authorized to represent the EU in the world. The head of the European Commission is also influential. The High Representative is also in charge of the European External Action Service that can be considered as the ministry of foreign affairs of the European Union. The EU has diplomatic missions all around the globe and their work is coordinated by the EEAS. Member states are still the most influential actors of EU foreign policy. Because foreign policy is very much about national sovereignty and national security, member states do not want to give up their right to veto any decision that might endanger their interests.

Despite its decades-old success in eroding the traditional understanding of diplomacy and foreign policy, the EU has been lately facing various modern challenges concerning the post-modern logic of its integration process and international identity. Though it was brought into existence as a peace project in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War and accomplished many successes over decades, the EU of today is still far away from fulfilling its desired goals that its founders set decades ago. Despite all its intentions to help midwife a post-modern polity at home and become a role model for others abroad, the EU appears to have underestimated how influential a role the modern/traditional logics of power politics continue to play in Europe and abroad. At stake is the EU's ability to deal with the emerging modern challenges while remaining true to its post-modern aspirations.



Figure 7.3 Mogherini's press statement on the latest developments, Federica Mogherini - High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy / Vice-President of the Commission.

Source: <https://www.flickr.com/photos/eeas/37685357026/>

The Russian actions in Ukraine, Syria and Eastern Europe confirm that the geopolitical confrontations still haunt Europe. The challenges posed by the Russian annexation of Crimea, hybrid warfare tactics in eastern Ukraine and its military involvement in Syria suggest that the constitutive principles of the post-Cold war era security order in Europe are now at stake.

The growing chaos and anarchy in the Middle East and North Africa also presents the EU with a very serious strategic challenge. The erosion of the decades-long territorial borders in these regions, particularly following the rise of Islamic State in Iraq and Syria, not only puts the bilateral and multilateral relations that the EU has developed with the incumbent regimes in these regions in jeopardy but also presents the EU members with the problem of continuous migration. Figuring out how to deal with the emerging humanitarian problems in the spirit of EU's multicultural and universal integration has proved to be a fallacy as EU members are still far away from adopting common policies that offer long-term solutions. Neither the well-established regional initiatives of the EU have been revised in the process of adaptation to the changing dynamics in the so-called greater Middle Eastern region nor has the EU adopted specific solutions to the emergent problems in the region from a strategic perspective. The EU's dealings with the countries in the so-called MENA region have neither contributed to the formation of a 'we' feeling between the northern and southern shores of the Mediterranean nor allowed the EU members to arrest the decline of interstate order in the post-Arab Spring Middle East. The post-modern practices inside the EU seem to have blinded the Europeans to the modern/traditional dynamics of power politics in its near abroad.

Recent years have witnessed the rise of illiberal, populist, anti-integrationist, anti-immigrant and anti-globalist parties across the European continent (Mude, 2016, 25-30). The number of Europeans who feel disappointed by the EU's performance and think that solutions to their problems should be sought after at domestic levels has climbed up. As of today, it would not be wrong to argue that the EU suffers from a legitimacy crisis in the eyes of its people. The institutions of the EU are now beset with the democracy deficit problem. The lesser the input of the European people in the formation of EU level

policies affecting their core interests and daily lives, the more the democracy deficit grows. Investing too much power in the supranational institutions and Eurocrats based in Brussels appears to have caused a mental gap between laymen and elites.

The EU's post-modern integration process seems now to be on life-support given the Brexit decision of the British nation in the referendum held in June, 2016, as well as the continuous electoral victories of rightist and leftist populist parties across the continent. The United Kingdom leaving the EU is a fatal blow to EU's credibility. This has already caused alarm bells ring across the continent. At stake is not only that the EU without Britain would have lesser influence and geopolitical clout across the globe but also this would likely empower nationalist and anti-integrationist circles elsewhere in Europe. Greece's potential exit from the Euro-zone might on the other hand bespeak the failure of European efforts to forge common economic and monetary policies inside the EU, let alone the more challenging task of adopting common positions on security and defense. The idea of European integration being based on common identities, social policies and legitimacy of Brussels-based institutions might further erode in the years to come should centrist politicians in key EU members fail to provide solutions to the daily problems of people and continue to lose elections against fringe parties. The gap between rich northerners and poor southerners might further widen and the geopolitical competition between Germany and France might intensify.

The latest crises engulfing EU members appear to have brought forward the issue of leadership inside the EU. Despite the fact that Germany has come under limelight in this regard, it is still far from certain that Germany has accepted to rise to this challenge and other members, notably France, have already acquiesced to German leadership inside the union. From a principled point of view, it would be good for the EU to see Germany take on the mantle of leadership and help the Union find its way in the uncharted waters of growing challenges, for Germany seems to be the only power inside the EU having this potential. The German economy has coped with the financial storms of the 2008 economic crisis much better than others and continued to grow steadily and Germany has weathered down the latest political

crisis despite the Christian Democrats and Social Democrats losing some ground to illiberal populist parties in the latest parliamentary elections held in September 2017.

However, the debate on the comparative weight of values and interests in German foreign policy and the possibility of Germany transforming into a normal foreign policy actor adopting a *realpolitik* worldview in dealing with emerging modern/*realpolitik* challenges at European and global levels still lingers. Despite the fact German troops were deployed outside German borders, that the constitutional obstacles before the deployment of German troops abroad were eased, that the German government has taken the leading role in the formation of European responses to Russian assertiveness and the Greek crisis, the majorities in Germany are still lukewarm to the idea that Germany should prioritize its material power capabilities and pragmatic interests at the expense of its civilian power identity (Steinmeier, 2016, 106-113). Besides, the possibility of any German domination of EU decision making processes might attract the ire of other members.

The crisis of the EU can also be noticed in the way how other global actors perceive the EU (Kleine-Brockhoff, 2013). Far from having established itself as a credible actor speaking with one voice, the EU does still appear as a weak geopolitical actor in the eyes of other key global actors. The prime evidence of this is that the United States, Russia and China have never given up on the time-tested strategy of divide-and-rule in their relations with the European Union. All continue to see the EU as a leverage in their dealings with one another. Partnership with European countries inside NATO and EU is a must for the US to defeat the Russian challenge in Eastern Europe and contain the Chinese challenge in East Asia. Courting the pro-Russia members of the EU and supporting the pro-Russian social and political groups across the continent is on the other hand the preferred strategy of Putin's Russia in its efforts to help create fissures inside the transatlantic community. Similar to Russia, China is also courting friendly countries inside the EU and accelerating its effort to develop interdependent economic relations with European countries in the hope that this would deprive the United States of an important leverage in East and Southeast Asia.

The failure of the EU to handle the modern crises on its doorsteps and turn out to be a credible diplomatic actor has a lot to do with its overdependence on the United States. Despite the fact that the strong American support to European integration project has relieved the EU members of the need to spend their scarce resources on security and defense, this has gradually caused complacency on their part. Too much dependence on American security commitment has not only militated against the EU's ability to forge a distinctive European approach to global security problems but also led the EU members to underinvest in security and common foreign policy.

DIPLOMACY OF CHINA

As the dynamics of global politics have been going through transformative changes in recent years, the prestigious position of the western actors within the current international order has become exposed to serious challenges. As is well known, the current world order has come into being in the aftermath of the Second World War under the stewardship of the United States. The liberal world order has reflected and facilitated the strategic and economic interests of the western actors. The United States, in close cooperation with western European states, has led the key international organizations since their inception, such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Organization, NATO and the EU. Other actors were simply delegated to secondary roles within such organizations and the final say almost always rested with the United States.

Acting as the gatekeepers to the western international community, such international organizations have long played key roles in the socialization of erstwhile non-western states into the constitutive norms, rules and values of the Western world. Consolidation and promotion of the principles of individual entrepreneurship, democratic way of government, minimum state involvement in economy, rule of law, free trade, secularization of societal relations and respect for multiculturalism, constituted the backbones of the western-led liberal world order. The assumption was that non-western countries would one day join the league of developed and powerful countries should they transform themselves in line with such values.

For a long period of time this pro-western character of international system has remained unquestioned mainly because the power configurations of the postwar era profoundly favored the western actors.

However, China now seems to be the country that has the most potential to help re-structure the dynamics of the liberal world order in the years to come. For long, successive American administrations have tended to believe that China would likely transform into a responsible stakeholder of the western-led liberal world order because China was benefiting from this economically (Campbell and Ratner, 2018, 60-70). China's unabated economic development would consequently result in China becoming a liberal democratic polity in the image of liberal states in the West. The growing middle classes in China would demand more political representation as they begin to become richer. Unless China turned out to become more democratic and representative, the economic benefits of opening policy would not be sustained for long.

That Chinese rulers have been pursuing the so-called 'peaceful rise/peaceful development' strategy in their neighborhood since the late 1970s appears also to have encouraged the American leaders to prioritize the 'strategy of engagement' over the 'strategy of containment' in their relations with China. China has not completed its internal transformation process yet, and for this to happen without interruption, a stable external environment is critical. So stability in East and South Asia has been in the interest of both China and the United States. This suggests that China cannot risk its internal transformation process at home by confronting its neighbors and key global actors, such as the United States, head-on. The growing economic interdependence with the United States is a requirement for China's economic development process. China has the largest reserves in US dollars and its access to American market, technology and foreign direct investment is still important for years to come.

The financial crisis that hit western economies in 2008 severely seems to have turned all such western assumptions upside down. The economic crisis in 2008 has not only weakened the specter of the EU to become a global power, both in economic and normative senses, but also made it

abundantly clear that the success of the American economic model has been to a significant extent tied to the interdependent economic relations developed with the non-western world, most notably China. The crisis and its aftermath have made it unavoidably clear that the United States is today the most indebted country on earth whereas China the number one creditor country. Besides, majorities across the globe seem to believe that China, the aspiring hegemon, is on the rise whereas the United States, the incumbent hegemon, is in terminal decline.

Whereas China deems its phenomenal rise as part of its normalization process, the United States finds in China a strong contender for its global hegemony. While Chinese see their country's efforts to leave behind the 'centuries of humiliation' for good as China's rightful return to its glorious days, the majority of westerners tend to feel skeptical about the end results of this process. To many Chinese, China had been the cradle of global politics for ages by the time the western European nations eclipsed China in terms of economic output, technological innovations and military capabilities. By the middle of the 19th century, nearly half of global economic production had originated from China. Therefore, the Chinese believe that their country's rise in recent decades should not be interpreted as the success story of an ordinary country climbing up the ladder of power. Instead, Chinese share the view that China's recent successes are manifestations of China's normalization and returning to world history as a major power (Xiang, 2016, 53-62).

China has now become the number one trading-partner of not only its neighbors to the south and east but also many developed countries in the West. This suggests that these countries would do well to pay significant attention to their access to Chinese markets, as well as their ability to borrow from China. Chinese leaders have already succeeded in establishing indispensable mutual economic relations with many countries across the globe. The message that they have been unrelentingly giving to others is that should Chinese economic development slow down, meaning China no longer acting as the global factory and Chinese customers not buying western goods, this would severely impact the global economy.

China, unlike other Asian tigers, namely Taiwan, South Korea, Singapore and Hong Kong, has not followed the strategy of protecting its internal market behind trade walls and singling out key sectors where the state would invest overwhelmingly. Right from the very beginning of its opening to the outside world in late 1970s, China has adopted the view that China's internal markets would be open to foreign companies for investment and China's competitive advantage would emanate from its cheap labor. It is striking that as of today over half of Chinese exports are still being covered by multinational corporations which operate their factories in China. More than half of the profits taking place out of the export of Chinese goods do still go to western multinational companies. This suggests that western companies are important beneficiaries of China's ongoing development. This openness to foreign direct investment and foreign goods, right from the very beginning of its economic modernization process, has immensely contributed to the competitive power of Chinese companies as well. The number of Chinese companies, both state-run and private, in the list of top 500 companies has been steadily increasing.

A novel characteristic of China's economic development is the strong economic relations that China has established with many countries located in the non-western world. At issue is not only China's growing trade relations with other rising developing powers, such as Brazil, India, Indonesia, South Africa, Malaysia and Iran, but also many underdeveloped countries in Africa and South America. Such connections to the non-western world seem to offer China two main advantages (Friedberg, 2018, 7-40). On one hand, Chinese factories could still continue producing goods no matter their access to developed western markets becomes difficult due to their contraction during crisis times. On the other hand, China could import many of the raw materials from these countries that it needs for its production capacity to continue. China is a resource poor country and it needs to import commodities from abroad.

In order for the relationships established with many resource-rich countries in Africa and Asia not to appear as neo-colonial, China has adopted a 'no-strings attached' policy in its relations with those countries. China's developmental and infrastructural aids to these resource-rich poor

countries aim at transforming such countries into rich economies so that they could demand and buy Chinese goods. Unlike western countries, China does not make the way how those countries are ruled internally an issue in its economic relations with them. As opposed to western powers, China does not ask those countries to fulfill some preconditions in order to construct economic relations with China as well as become eligible for Chinese developmental aids.

The recently announced 'One Road One Belt' Project and the formation of the Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank should be seen from this perspective. Through such initiatives, China is trying to give the message that it very much values the development of underdeveloped and developing countries because there is a mutually constitutive relationship between China's development at home and the development of non-developed others abroad. The improvement of the infrastructural capacities of the countries on which China is dependent for raw materials and to which China exports goods are in the final analysis in China's national economic interests. Through such initiatives Chinese leaders have been trying to bring into existence China-friendly regional and global environments in which China's march to global primacy would not only remain uncontested but also be accommodated easily.

China's rise also poses a challenge to the established western powers because of its huge continental size and high population. Every small increase in per capita income in China will both lift many Chinese people out of poverty and increase China's share in global economy. Size matters in international politics. Should the current speed of development continue in China over the next two decades, Chinese economy will likely be twice the size of American economy.

Unlike the nation-states of the western world, China is a civilization-state which very much values the following principles: a father-like status of the state in the eyes of people, unitary state identity, territorial integrity, societal cohesion, primacy of family bonds over individuality, primacy of state sovereignty over popular sovereignty, state's unquestioned involvement in economics and social life, primacy of responsible and ethical statesmanship over electoral legitimacy, resolving conflicts through

societal mechanisms and trust relationships rather than legal instruments, primacy of hierarchical relations within the society over egalitarianism and primacy of shame culture over guilt culture. Such are the values that westerners would find difficult to accommodate (Jacques, 2012).

The main characteristic of Chinese foreign policy, particularly concerning its relations with the United States, seems to be avoiding taking clear stances on issues that directly touch upon vital American interests or global concerns. Unless the issues at hand concern Taiwan, Hong Kong, Tibet, Uighur region or the islands in the South and East China Seas, China tends to eschew taking responsibility in global governance issues. This is a challenge to the West, for the costs of maintaining global stability and providing global commons increase dramatically absent the Chinese contribution.

China should not be likened to other nation-states, whose climbing up the ladder of power hierarchy had in the past caused hegemonic wars between incumbent and aspiring hegemons. China is not openly questioning the established western order by either forming anti-western coalitions of states or doing its best to make sure that western-led international organizations do not operate smoothly. It is for sure that China, along with many other rising powers, wants to see that its growing ascendance in global power hierarchy be accommodated institutionally and peacefully. In case of western reluctance to do so, China does not hesitate to mastermind the establishment of alternative institutional platforms under his guidance. The Asia Infrastructure and Investment Bank should be seen from this perspective. Worth underlining here is that China values external democratization of global politics more than internal democratization of national politics.

Reminiscent of its ages-old historical background, today's China is not pursuing a strategy of global hegemony in such a manner as being pursued by the United States since the end of the Second World War. Seeing their empire-country as the Middle Kingdom, Chinese rulers have never adopted an imperial mission whose driving logic was to conquer non-Chinese territories and project Chinese norms and values onto others. Even though they believe in the superiority of their

civilization, Chinese rulers have never engaged in an empire building project whose goal was to bring civilization to barbarians. The expectation was that others would at some time in future accept and respect the legitimacy of China's primacy and pay their tributes to Beijing in return for Chinese benevolence and rewarding economic relations. China wants to see a decentralized imperial order take place, first in East and South East Asia, in which China sits at the center and other states respect the superiority of Chinese values as well as China's centrality in their development.

China is against the idea of a universal civilization as well as the practices of setting global standards of human rights. No country whatsoever should have the claim to universal truths or values. Therefore, from China's perspective, the promotion of liberal democracy, or any other political ideology, should be immediately discarded from the vocabulary of foreign policy. Rules, values and norms are relative and products of different time and space configurations. This does not, however, mean that China does not adhere to a certain set of rules, values and norms in its state-society relations and external dealings. Indeed, what seem to set apart China from western powers are its commitment to state-led capitalism, society-based morality, hierarchical organization of societal relations, centralized administrative system, a defensive realpolitik security culture and a Confucian understanding of the Chinese state as a civilization. Similar to other great powers, China hopes that its values and norms are shared by others. However, it does not construct its foreign relations on the basis of a normative understating in that it is China's historical and civilizational mission to project its values abroad.

China views the United Nations (UN) and many other international organizations as institutional platforms within which it could counterbalance the hegemony and primacy of the established Western powers by actively contributing to their functions. Taking an active stance within the existing institutions simply provides China with the tools to make sure that its voice be heard more loudly. For example, China demands that its voting rights within the International Monetary Fund or the World Bank increase or that a Chinese national lead these institutions.

China has also been trying to bring into existence rival international organizations that reflect China's interests and priorities much better than the existing global institutions. The formation of Shanghai Cooperation Organization, BRICS, New Development Bank, the Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank, the One Belt One Road Initiative all attest to China's determination to help create alternative institutional structures that could offer China-friendly solutions to global public good problems.



Figure 7.4

Source: <https://www.ft.com/content/o8o28d18-b976-11e7-9bfb-4a9c83ffa852>

China's foreign policy is made by the Chinese Communist Party organs many of which are chaired by the president of State. The head of the state is also the secretary general of the party and commander in chief of the people's liberation army. All state bureaucracy dealing with foreign policy is structured in a hierarchic and centralized way. The participation of civil society organizations and other non-state actors in the formulation of China's foreign policy interests is extremely limited. China is a highly centralized and authoritarian state.



Figure 7.5 President Xi Jinping at a summit in Shanghai (Getty Images).

Source: <https://foreignpolicyblogs.com/2016/04/19/10-characteristics-of-chinese-diplomacy-in-the-xi-jinping-era/>

DIPLOMACY OF RUSSIA

Since President Putin came to power in late 1990s, Russia has witnessed a national revival. Having an imperial legacy in the background and acting as one of the two superpowers of the Cold War era, it is quite natural and understandable that Russia wants to leave the troubled years of the 1990s behind and put a serious claim to global power status in the emerging century. Recently, Russia has come under international limelight once again following its annexation of Crimea into its territory, the support that it gives to the separatist groups in the eastern part of Ukraine and its military involvement in Syria on the side of Assad regime. Hardly a day passes without Russia being criticized by western circles of pursuing aggressive, assertive and neo-imperial policies in its near-abroad. The major criticism directed to Russia is that unlike the post-modern powers of the European Union and the liberal power the United States, Russia acts as a typical *realpolitik* power which deeply believes in the primacy of material power capabilities, the use of brute military force and commanding spheres of influence in global power politics. Russia is believed to have been acting as a nineteenth century power in the twenty-first century.

It is for sure that Putin's Russia has been at odds with Western powers in terms of the constitutive norms of the emerging world order and the role that Russia might play in its construction. What kind of a world order does Russia envisage and what factors motivate Russia's strategies and policies abroad?

Putin's Russia has been extremely aghast at the primacy of western actors in world politics and therefore has been striving to help bring into existence a multipolar world order in which Russia plays a decisive role (Stronski and Sokolsky, 2017). Neither the established powers of the West nor the rising powers of the East should take Russia's cooperation for granted in the unfolding global rivalry between Washington and Beijing. Russian leaders believe that Russia is an actor on its own and its power resources, albeit their diminishing value since the end of the Cold War era, suffice for Russia to help bring into existence a Russia-friendly regional and global order. Despite the growing strategic rapprochement between Moscow and Beijing in recent years, one should not jump

to the conclusion that Russia would act as a fiddle to China whenever its relations with western actors deteriorate. In the best of circumstances China appears to be a trump card for Russia in its dealings with Western powers. The closer Russia comes to China, the stronger the Russian message that Russia is not without alternatives. No matter how critical the Chinese connection to Russia's global power status is, the dynamics of its relations with Western actors deserve more attention while making sense of Russia's view of the emerging world order.

Active Russian agency in the establishment of the Eurasian Economic Union, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and BRICSs should be read as Russia's growing determination to offer an alternative world order to the one shaped by western powers. In Russian strategic thinking, the road to global primacy passes through the entrenchment of Russia's geopolitical influence in Europe and Eurasia. It is where Russia finds itself in strategic competition with the West.

The current Russian leadership has been quite unhappy to see that western powers read the dissolution of the Soviet Union as a victory for the West, as well as the triumph of the western way of life over all other alternatives. The reasons why Russia could not resist the enlargement of the western sphere of influence towards its western borders were that Russia was internally weak and a pro-western cadre was holding the reigns of the country during the 1990s.

Despite the warnings of many influential strategists, western powers tended to interpret the dissolution of the Soviet Union as an historic victory on their side and overlooked the Russian strategic concerns for long. Rather than treating Russia as a defeated power and imposing a peace settlement on it, similar to what victories western powers did to Germany in the immediate aftermath of the First World War, they should have done their best to make sure that post-Soviet Russia feel itself as part of the emerging security order in Europe, similar to how post-Napoleon France had been incorporated into the Concert of Europe in 1815.

Russia has been quite discontent with NATO's enlargement towards the erstwhile communist states of Central and Eastern Europe. Putin being no exception, the Russian establishment of the post-Cold era has been subscribed to the view

that Russia has been deceived by the Western powers in that NATO's enlargement occurred to the detriment of Russia's geopolitical interests and priorities. Despite some counterfactual arguments, it is still believed that the West promised Russia not to enlarge NATO eastwards in return for Russia's acquiescence to Germany's unification and its eventual accession to NATO. A feeling of containment and encirclement reigns in Russia.

The Yeltsin era in the 1990s did not witness a serious breach in Russia's relations with the West, mainly because westernization had been the dominant ideology in Moscow. Internal problems constituted the main reasons why Russia had to remain introverted during the 1990s and why Russia's objections to the Western encroachment on its traditional areas of influence did not capture the headlines.

In order to voice its strong criticism against western aggrandizement, Russia needed to recover from its economic malaise under the strong leadership of President Putin. The improving Russian economy and the growing need of western powers to seek Russia's help in responding to the geopolitical challenges in the post 9/11 era seem to have emboldened Russian leaders to openly question the legitimacy of the liberal Western order. The years of 2000s saw the U.S., in close cooperation with the European allies, define promotion of liberal democratic values across the globe in its national security interests. The wars against Al-Qaeda and Taliban in Afghanistan and Saddam's Iraq were defined as existential struggles between the forces of good and the forces of evil. Approaching democratization as a security strategy might have been accepted legitimate by Russian rulers if it had not spread to post-Soviet geography.

This very much accounts for why Russia has been vehemently against the color revolutions in Georgia, Ukraine and some Central Asian republics. From Russia's perspective these revolutionary movements were masterminded by western circles and carried out by local agents. Russian elites viewed them as sinister western attempts at hollowing out Russia's influence in its traditional backyard. Seen from Moscow, promotion of democratic values in Russia's near abroad cannot be seen isolated from the geopolitical competition between Russia and the West. This thinking seems also to be the

main reason why Russia fought against Georgia in August 2008 and strongly opposed Ukraine's incorporation into the West through the signing of an Association agreement between Ukraine and the European Union in late 2013, as well as Ukraine's eventual accession to NATO. This also explains why the Eurasian Union initiative should be read as a counter measure by Russia in order to limit the reach of the European Union into its neighborhood.

In Russian thinking, western security institutions, most notably NATO, should not be the main regional platforms in which questions of European security are discussed. Absent the Cold War era confrontation between Washington and Moscow, NATO should have already given way to new institutional arrangements concerning European security. The Russian President Putin argued back in 2007 in Munich that a new security architecture should be constructed in Europe that would accommodate Russia's security interests much better than the existing platforms.



Figure 7.6

Russia's objections to the primacy of the liberal western order also emanate from its peculiar political and cultural values. Unlike the developed western economies which are built on the capitalist values, Russian economy very much relies on the export of commodities in a semi-close economy, such as gas and oil. Unlike the Chinese model in which capitalist modernization process could go hand in hand with authoritarian state policies, Russia offers a particular example of illiberal societies in which the state is extremely involved in economics, social

and political life. The idea that capitalist economic modernization would eventually culminate in political liberalization and democratization does not strike a sympathetic chord in Russia. Russia seems to have adopted a mercantilist economic model in which many economic activities are closely regulated and monitored by the state and economic power is a means to political and strategic influence at home and abroad. Becoming rich seems to be difficult, if not impossible, without benefiting from patronage and clientalist relations established with key political figures.

Russia is a multi-lingual, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural state and this pushes Russian security elites to put an overwhelming stress on Russia's territorial integrity and national sovereignty over all other concerns. Unlike the western powers where post-modern ways of arranging state-society relations have taken deep roots and where issues of security mostly concern low-politics issues, Russia offers an example of traditional nation-states where sovereignty, state survival and territorial integrity are still the most important security issues.

In Russian geopolitical thinking, the notion of 'sphere of influence' occupies an important place (Kotkin, 2016, 2-9). That seems to explain why Russian leaders have felt extremely discontent when they noticed that non-regional powers were trying to get hold in Russia's backyards. Russia is a state where the mere existence of material power capability counts a lot. Having the largest stockpile of nuclear weapons all over the world, possessing sophisticated conventional military capabilities, and sitting on abundant natural resources and a huge land mass are considered to be the main power resources of Russia. In Russian thinking, the weight of tangible power resources in overall power calculations is more than the weight of intangible soft power instruments.

Russia is a sovereignty-sensitive country and Russian elites abhor their western counterparts whenever the latter preach the virtues of liberal democracy (Oliker, 2017, 7024). Putting the idea of universal human rights at the center of global politics and authorizing the United Nations or other regional security organizations to help organize multinational peace operations in conflict-riven places contradicts Russia's state-oriented security and diplomatic culture. Russian uneasiness with

such multilateral UN-led operations can be seen in Kosovo in 1999 and Libya in 2011. The Russian position on the Syrian crisis also reveals that the principle of not interfering with states' internal affairs, no matter how severe the internal conditions are, still colors Russia's international behaviors.

Russian rulers do not want to see that the principle of 'responsibility to protect' drive international involvement in conflict-riven places. There are no universally-agreed human rights and the use of force in the name of 'responsibility to protect' would only mask western imperial designs on other places.

Russia has put the notion of 'sovereign democracy' at the center of its engagement with the outside world, particularly the Western powers. This suggests that Russian rulers do not deny the virtues and moral status of democratic principles, yet they tend to believe that what is meant by democracy is very much informed by particular time and space configurations. Historical experiences, geopolitical realities and cultural values produce different conceptualizations of democracy across the globe.

Recent years have also witnessed that President Putin has been vociferously arguing in favor of the revival of Russian nationalism imbued with distinctive legacies of communism and Orthodox Christianity. Today's Russia is rebuilt on the red values of communist era and the white values of Orthodox Christianity. Ascribing a messianic mission to Russia, Russian leaders wish to resurrect the defunct Russian empire in new clothes that acts as the protector of traditional Christian values against the challenges stemming from the post-modern/post-religion societies in the West and religious fundamentalism in the East and South.

Moreover, it is also believed that the Russian society is built on the primacy of patriarchal and communal values instead of self-regarding individualistic morality. Russian society evinces a predisposition to communitarian ethics over individualistic or cosmopolitan ethics. That is to say that the meaning of life of an ordinary Russian emanates from his/her belonging to the larger Russian community in which common societal values take priority over individual quest for happiness and well-being. This perspective in Russian thinking seems to lay behind the objections to western notions of tolerance and

heterogeneity. A completely secular culture in which people of different sex, faith, ethnicity, sexual preferences, and languages are completely equal before the law and the primary role of state is to ensure this heterogeneity is something unacceptable in Putin's Russia.

Russia's approach to the emerging world order is also informed by the historical dynamics of its relations with the western international community. Without understanding the dynamics of three alternative approaches towards the West in Russia, one would find it difficult to make sense of strong Russian objections to the primacy of the liberal international order. On the one hand exists a strong pro-western tradition in Russian culture and history, according to which Russia's place is in the West and the road to modernity and development goes through Russia's acceptance of western values and practices. The modernization/westernization efforts during the imperial era seem to have inspired the Russian leaders during the 1990s in their efforts to bring Russia much closer to the West. On the other hand a strong resistance to the West also exists in Russian history, whose most exemplary manifestation took place during the Cold War era. Here the goal is to define Russia on the basis of strong opposition to liberal western values as well as the characterization of western states as Russia's existential threats. Finally, the so-called Eurasian school of thought sits somewhere in the middle of these two polar positions. According to Eurasianism, Russia is both a European and Asian country at the same time and Russia's historical mission is to unite the diverse communities in the Eurasian region under Russia's moral and political leadership. Russia is the geopolitical hegemon of the Eurasian region and without strong Russian leadership neither Russia nor other Eurasian communities would be in a position to restrain western and eastern encroachments. Given Russia's foreign and security policies over the last decade, one could confidently argue that Eurasianism has now become the dominant school of thought in Russia.

Despite their different conceptualization of the Western world, all of these schools of thought share something in common, which is the idea that Russia deserves to be treated respectfully and fairly by Western actors. Russian elites are very much obsessed with the ideas that Russia is historically and

empirically entitled to have an equal standing with the West and Russia's greatness and distinctiveness should be recognized by outside actors. As westerners question Russia's equality and continue to lecture Russians on the superiority of western values and Russia's shortcomings, Russia tends to define itself in opposition to the West. And the more the West challenges Russia's claim to a geopolitical sphere of influence in its neighborhood, the more likely Russia treats the West and its liberal world order negatively. This is now what is happening in Russia's relations with the West. Russia is a huge country, has a long history of imperial rule in its region and always defeated the external attempts at subjugation and colonization. The victories against Napoleon's France and Hitler's Germany offer the most vivid examples of Russian success in standing tall and strong in the face of external threats to its very existence.

Russian foreign policy is most of the time made by the president, in consultation with particular state institutions that are supposed to aid the president in this process. Russia is an extremely centralized and authoritarian state suggesting that foreign policy is mainly the business of the state.



your turn ³

Which particular points do you think different schools of thought in Russian diplomacy share in common?

CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the diplomacy of global powers from a theoretical perspective as well as examined the diplomacy practices of global powers in detail. It is expected that the years ahead will witness growing willingness on the part of China and Russia to maximize their tangible and intangible power capabilities while the U.S. and EU trying to preserve their privileges in the current liberal international order.

Despite the fact that it is the combination of the United States and China, however called G-2 or Chimerica, that holds the greatest sway in global politics, it has increasingly become evident that neither any of them nor any other great power is in

a position to overwhelmingly shape global politics. The power disparities between the ones at the top and those that follow are not as huge as it had been in previous eras. Today's global powers are not as mighty as those of the past and their ability to keep their internal order immune to external developments have tremendously decreased in parallel to intensifying global interconnectedness and interdependencies. The vulnerability of global powers to external developments and the growing need on their part to focus on internal restoration and material power preservation/maximization, rather than external norm projection, have become more conspicuous than ever.

For example, following its annexation of Crimea and military involvement in eastern Ukraine, the western powers put sanctions on Russia. Russian economy has deteriorated following the steep falls in oil prices and the concomitant depreciation of Russian currency against the U.S. dollar. Despite the normative underpinnings of the Eurasian Economic Union and Russia's continuing efforts to challenge the cardinal premises of the liberal world order, Russia acted as a typical *realpolitik* power in recent years that very much wanted to maximize its material power capabilities as well as help consolidate its sphere of influence in its backyards. The years ahead will likely see this trend continue.

A slowdown can also be noticed in Chinese economy given that the growth rate in China has decreased to 7.5 percent. Despite China's efforts to help bring into existence a China-friendly environment in East and South East Asia, internal concerns, such as growing income disparities within the society, worsening environmental problems, corruption and ethnic separatism have begun to take a great toll on the country. Recent years have seen that anti-Chinese alignment practices have intensified in the region with the United States improving its strategic relations with many Asian countries that feel threatened by China's rise. This suggests that the years ahead will likely see Chinese leaders put more focus on China's material power capabilities as well as the urgent internal problems.

The rise in great power confrontation across the globe, the growing isolationist tendencies on the part of the U.S., the increasing difficulties on the part of the EU members to chart EU's strategic orientation, the multiplication of global players on many issue areas, the growing security threats emanating from the rise of transnational terrorist movements, the growing anarchy and chaos within the international system all point out to the fact global powers would rather try to preserve and maximize their material power capabilities than engaging in transformative normative foreign policies abroad.

LO 1

Analyze the diplomacy practices of global power from a theoretical perspective

Great powers ground their foreign policies on the basis of both tangible interests and intangible values. The immense material power capabilities at their disposal empower them in their attempts at shaping the external milieu, rather than merely responding to external stimuli in a reactionary manner. That is also to say that adopting a soft-power oriented foreign policy approach is likely to be the prerogative of strong hard powers. Investing in value projection abroad and relying on 'power of attraction' in dealing with others indirectly require a good deal of hard power capability. Great powers do not only feel secure in terms of their territorial integrity but also find it easy to parley their immense material power capabilities to value-oriented transformative policies abroad. Great powers do not only aim at maximizing their power capabilities at the expense of their rivals but also endeavor to midwife a particular external environment that reflects their values and norms. It is not easy to ascertain when great powers prioritize value-oriented transformative foreign policies or put power maximization at the center of their external behaviors. These two concerns are most of the time intermingled with each other and meeting one generally requires the fulfillment of the other. Just as immense material power capabilities enable great powers to set in motion value-oriented transformative foreign policies, successful normative/transformative foreign policies help them bring into existence suitable environments in which they find it much easier to preserve and improve their material well-being.

LO 2

Asses the diplomatic practices of major global powers, such as United States, European Union, China and Russia

Making sense of foreign policy and diplomatic practices of the U.S. in the Middle East cannot be properly accomplished without taking into account the ideational/value-oriented logic of democracy promotion along with the materialist/interest-related logic of furthering regional stability. Similarly, the post-Cold War era American efforts to invest more in East Asia have aimed at both containing China's rise materially and ensuring China's integration and socialization to the liberal international world order normatively. Likewise, the Chinese foreign and security policy reflects the realpolitik interest of limiting the access of external actors to East and South East Asia as well as the normative aspiration of midwifing a China-friendly environment in which Pax-Sinica is deemed legitimate. Russia's foreign policy undertakings in Eastern Europe, wider Black Sea and wider Middle Eastern regions do also manifest a similar logic. Many Russian diplomatic activities target both maximizing Russia's sphere of influence in such locations and convincing other actors that the values of 'sovereign democracy', 'inviolability of territorial borders', 'non-interference in internal affairs of other states' and 'great power primacy' are seen legitimate.

1 Global powers are those that try to: _____

- a. Deal with other actors based on interests
- b. Shape international environment based on their values and global visions
- c. Define their foreign policy in reference to their material capabilities
- d. Respond to external developments in a reactionary manner
- e. Deal with the world as it is

2 Middle and small powers are most of the time concerned with: _____

- a. changing the world in line with their values
- b. establishing their own sphere of influence
- c. securing their survival in the world of anarchy and uncertainty
- d. maximizing their economic power capacity
- e. pursuing a normative and transformative foreign policy

3 Liberal Internationalism has profoundly shaped the foreign policy and diplomacy practices of: _____

- a. The European Union
- b. Russia
- c. China
- d. The United States
- e. Turkey

4 Neo-conservatives in the United States argue in favor: _____

- a. Supporting relations with illiberal authoritarian countries
- b. Promoting American values and liberal democracy through international organization and multilateral diplomacy
- c. Disengaging the world and turning inwards
- d. Adopting a realist foreign policy
- e. Using force and military instruments in transforming illiberal states in the image of America's values.

5 President Obama of the United States argued in favor of _____

- a. Focusing on nation-building in the US and downsizing American military involvements abroad
- b. Using force to transform other countries in the image of American values and norms
- c. Pursuing a primacist foreign policy aiming at preserving the United States' global hegemony
- d. Adopting unilateralism and transactionalism in the pursuit of US foreign policy interests
- e. Increasing the number of US troops abroad decisively.

6 The European Union has not in recent years been concerned with the rise of: _____

- a. Populism
- b. Anti-immigration political parties
- c. Anti-integrationist and anti-globalist movements
- d. British demand to leave the European Union
- e. the United States' growing commitment to European security

7 Other global powers: _____

- a. Try to gain leverage in their relations with the European Union by pursuing divide-and-rule tactics
- b. Treat the European Union as a realpolitik security actor with strong military power capabilities
- c. Support the EU integration process
- d. Encourage the European Union to become a more active global power across the globe
- e. Support the attempts at improving EU's ability to speak with one voice in foreign policy

8 Russian diplomacy during the post-Cold War era aims at _____

- a. Re-creating the Soviet Union as a communist global power
- b. Ensuring Russia's membership in the European Union and NATO
- c. Creating a global security alliance with the United States
- d. Preventing European Union and NATO from enlarging towards Russia's borders
- e. Establishing a post-modern Russian empire in the image of liberal democratic values

9 China is a global power that believes in _____

- a. the primacy of universal human rights
- b. the reformation of existing international institutions to make more room for China
- c. the formation of an anti-American alliance with the European Union and Russia
- d. continuation of US' global hegemony
- e. imposition of China's values onto other states

10 'One Belt One Road' project and the Asian Infrastructure and Investment Bank are the initiatives of: _____

- a. The United States
- b. European Union
- c. China
- d. Japan
- e. Russia

1. b	If your answer is incorrect, review the section on “Diplomatic Practices of Global Powers”	6. e	If your answer is incorrect, review the section on “Diplomacy of the European Union”
2. c	If your answer is incorrect, review the section on “Diplomatic Practices of Global Powers”	7. a	If your answer is incorrect, review the section on “Diplomacy of the European Union”
3. d	If your answer is incorrect, review the section on “Diplomacy of the United States”	8. d	If your answer is incorrect, review the section on “Diplomacy of Russia”
4. e	If your answer is incorrect, review the section on “Diplomacy of the United States”	9. b	If your answer is incorrect, review the section on “Diplomacy of China”
5. a	If your answer is incorrect, review the section on “Diplomacy of the United States”	10. c	If your answer is incorrect, review the section on “Diplomacy of China”

Comment on the key characteristics of global powers in terms of their foreign policy and diplomacy.

your turn 1

“Great powers are in a much better position than middle and small-sized powers to ground their foreign policies on the basis of both tangible interests and intangible values. The immense material power capabilities at their disposal empower them in their attempts at shaping the external milieu, rather than merely responding to external stimuli in a reactionary manner. That is also to say that adopting a soft-power oriented foreign policy approach is likely to be the prerogative of strong hard powers. Investing in value projection abroad and relying on ‘power of attraction’ in dealing with others indirectly require a good deal of hard power capability. Great powers do not only feel secure in terms of their territorial integrity but also find it easy to parley their immense material power capabilities to value-oriented transformative policies abroad. Unlike some middle powers and many small-sized powers, great powers have the luxury of helping bring into existence a particular external environment to their liking, as well as making use of the existing power balances within the system to maximize their material power capabilities. Stated somewhat differently, great powers do not only aim at maximizing their power capabilities at the expense of their rivals but also endeavor to midwife a particular external environment that reflects their values and norms.”

Comment on the roots of isolationism in the diplomacy of the United States

your turn 2

"At its foundation, the United States proved to be different from traditional powers in Europe and other continents. The immigrant nature of the American society led the founders of the republic to build their country on the basis of liberal, democratic and pluralist norms, further enshrining the principles of individual freedom, free entrepreneur-ship, limited government and checks and balances in the Constitution. In the realm of diplomacy and foreign policy, the rulers of the country long shunned the practices of getting involved in other states' internal affairs and becoming part of geo-political competitions in other continents. The geographical location of the country, being walled from other places through two oceans to the east and west, enabled the early generations to focus their attention solely on economic development and political cohesion at home. Unless other continents, most notably Europe and Asia, came under the domination of an anti-American power block and unless any other global power threatened the U.S. national interests by trying to take a strong presence in America's near abroad, the U.S. leaders did not show strong enthusiasm to pursue ambitious policies to institutionalize American dominance across the globe. Hence the strong 'isolationist' impulse in American diplomatic practices."

Which particular points do you think different schools of thought in Russian diplomacy share in common?

your turn 3

"Despite their different conceptualization of the Western world, all of these schools of thought share something in common, which is the idea that Russia deserves to be treated respectfully and fairly by Western actors. Russian elites are very much obsessed with the ideas that Russia is historically and empirically entitled to have an equal standing with the West and Russia's greatness and distinctiveness should be recognized by outside actors. As westerners question Russia's equality and continue to lecture Russians on the superiority of western values and Russia's shortcomings, Russia tends to define itself in opposition to the West. And the more the West challenges Russia's claim to a geopolitical sphere of influence in its neighborhood, the more likely Russia treats the West and its liberal world order negatively. This is now what is happening in Russia's relations with the West. Russia is a huge country, has a long history of imperial rule in its region and always defeated the external attempts at subjugation and colonization. The victories against Napoleon's France and Hitler's Germany offer the most vivid examples of Russian success in standing tall and strong in the face of external threats to its very existence."

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Chapter 8

Practice of Diplomacy: Negotiation, Mediation and Diplomatic Agreement

After completing this chapter you will be able to:

Learning Outcomes

- 1 Compare the motivations of negotiating parties in various international negotiations.
- 2 Analyze how parties of a given negotiation process form their win-sets for international bargaining.
- 3 Note the basic procedures for formal and informal mediation practices.
- 4 Evaluate the motivations of the mediators in international conflicts.
- 5 Categorize different types of diplomatic agreements.
- 6 Examine the different procedures of ratification for diplomatic agreements.

Chapter Outline

Introduction
Negotiation
Mediation
Diplomatic Agreement

Key Terms

Diplomatic practices
negotiation
mediation
informal mediation
formal mediation
diplomatic agreement
ratification
peace accords



INTRODUCTION

Two systemic wars (First World War and Second World War) fought in 20th century taught the powers of Europe and world in general that settlement of interstate problems through war causes tremendous economic costs, catastrophic humanitarian consequences and complete destruction of the all parties included in the war. With the experience gained from these systemic wars, the new world order was established to promote more diplomacy and put more decisive restrictions on use of force in world politics. Especially the horror of the Second World War has been quite influential in the construction of this new world order. In this regard, it is fair to argue that the practice of diplomacy has gained a greater significance in the post-Second World War world order.

Previous chapters elaborated on important topics such as how we define diplomacy, how modern diplomacy emerged, how institutions of diplomacy were consolidated and how all these were introduced to Ottoman Empire. This chapter rather is concerned with addressing specific tools and instruments utilized in the practice of diplomacy. In what follows, instruments and procedures of negotiation, mediation and diplomatic agreements are elaborated and discussed. Within this context, specific procedures of conducting negotiations are explained and examples from world politics are noted. Then, third party mediation is analyzed as a significant diplomatic practice. Finally, how diplomatic agreements are finalized is discussed and several examples from current international relations are provided.

NEGOTIATION

Negotiation as a diplomatic tool lies in the center of the overall diplomatic practices. In fact, two words, diplomacy and negotiation, are often used interchangeably. Yet, overall conduct of diplomacy cannot be reduced to negotiations. Negotiating with another party is rather a specific sector of diplomatic practices. Diplomacy, on the other hand, encompasses a broader variety of practices varying from routine correspondence between parties to negotiations and agreements. Therefore, diplomatic negotiations take place within a more specific context, focuses on one or set of problems and issues between the parties (Barston 2014, 32).

“Negotiation can be defined as an attempt to explore and reconcile conflicting positions in order to reach an acceptable outcome. Whatever the nature of the outcome, which may actually favour one party more than another, the purpose of negotiation is the identification of areas of common interest and conflict” (Barston 2014, 51).

Based on this definition, first thing to clarify is to emphasize that the term negotiation refers to the process instead of the outcome. In a similar way, Bercovitch and Jackson define “negotiation as a process by which states and other actors communicate and exchange proposals in an attempt to agree about the dimensions of conflict termination and their future relationship” (Bercovitch and Jackson 1997: 25-26). It should be noted that negotiation processes may end up with a reconciliation committed by all parties or fail to produce an agreement. In other words, not all negotiations are finalized with success, instead, some negotiation processes end up with deadlocks or partial success and lead to new processes.

Negotiating with other party or multiple parties is one of the major diplomatic practices. Yet, the ultimate goal that is aimed to be achieved through negotiations may vary from case to case, from actor to actor and from time to time. Firstly, actors may use negotiations as a minor tactic within a greater strategy. In such instances, negotiations may be seen as a tool to gain some time by the actors. In such cases, actors are not convinced that negotiating with the counterparty would bring in the desired results that is acceptable. Nonetheless, the actor does not feel itself ready or prepared to put the necessary tool in motion. Under such circumstances, initiating a negotiation process or consenting to take part in a process initiated by the counter party or a third party would seem a plausible instrument for gaining time to get to the desired level of readiness for the necessary action. In other words, a negotiation process which includes an actor with such a motivation usually fails to produce a negotiated and reconciled solution to the issue on the table. Yet, it should also be noted that interests and intentions of the actors are dynamic and may change once they are in a negotiation process. In several cases, negotiation processes with actors which were quite reluctant and saw the whole process in pragmatic terms have been fruitful and ended up with settlements. An example of a negotiation process which is used

as a tactic to gain time is the talks between the government of Sri Lanka and Tamil Tigers (Weiss 2011). The fight between the government forces and Tamil Tigers, a secessionist guerrilla group, lasted more than two decades and caused thousands of casualties on both parties. The negotiations between the parties were initiated once again in early 2008, yet the failure of the process triggered a heavy assault by the government forces on Tamil Tigers in early 2009. In May 2009, the government

declared victory and Tigers admitted the defeat. Later, it was understood that the government of Sri Lanka was actually using the negotiation process which was relatively calm and peaceful to prepare for a final attack to defeat the Tigers decisively and annihilate the organization. In fact, it was clear that Sri Lankan army was mobilizing and preparing for the attack since a long time frame including the negotiation period.



figure: 8.1 Participants of High-Level United Nations-Central Asian Dialogue on Implementing the United Nations Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy in Central Asia

Source: <https://unrcca.unmissions.org/un-secretary-general-commends-central-asian-countries-adoption-ashgabat-declaration-countering>

Secondly, parties may determine a set of goals to achieve through negotiations and be satisfied if they can end up at any point within this range in the end of the negotiations. This is called win-set. This concept is coined by Putnam in his famous article in which he defined diplomatic negotiations as a “two-level game” (Putnam 1988). Putnam argues that state actors play a two-level game in their conduct of diplomacy. The first level is the domestic level. In the domestic game, the actor needs to consider different factors varying from satisfying the public to surviving in the office. In other words, domestic political dynamics such as elections and inter-party competitions are influential in the domestic game. The decision maker aims to get the support of the domestic institutions and audience before starting the second level of the game, namely the international negotiation with other parties. The support that the actor mastered in the first level broadens the win-set of the actor for the second level. In this regard, a win-set is set of desired outcomes that would be achieved through international negotiations. For an actor, any outcome of negotiation within this range would be acceptable, whereas the outcomes out of this win-set spectrum would count as loss and failure, this is unacceptable. On that sense, it is possible to frame negotiations as a practice in which actors can compromise based on the scope of their win-sets. Larger win-sets on both or all parties make the negotiations more likely to end up with success. Putnam suggests that “agreement is possible only if those win-sets overlap, and the larger each win-set, the more likely they are to overlap. Conversely, the smaller the greater the win-sets are, the greater the risk is that the negotiations will break down” (Putnam, 1988: 438). In this regard, it should be noted that international negotiations are not only shaped in the international arena but they are significantly shaped through the interplay between the domestic and external spaces.

WIN-SET

Win-set is a term coined by Robert Putnam in his famous article that he developed a framework for foreign policy decision-making (Putnam, 1988). According to Putnam's framework, win-set of an actor can be defined as any desirable outcome from an international bargaining process. In other words, any outcome within the range of its win-set would be considered as gain by the actor. The formation of this win-set, according to Putnam, is directly related with the domestic political dynamics. Therefore, win-sets that determine the foreign policy agenda of a country is directly connected with the domestic politics of that country, according to Putnam's framework.

Thirdly, negotiating parties can be motivated for setting a norm in a broader level. This is usually the case for issues that concern broad range of audience. For instance, negotiations on issues such as trade regimes, environmental issues, and humanitarian causes can be given as instances of such negotiations. In these cases, negotiations are usually conducted within the form of a congress or convention and multiple parties interact through these platforms. Such diplomatic interactions take place once an internationally recognized problem emerge or most actors share a similar perspective on an issue. For instance, the negotiation processes that led to Kyoto Protocol and Paris Agreement on Climate Change are typical examples of such multiparty negotiations. Throughout such negotiation processes, parties work on a common plan that set certain criteria to be committed for all the signatory actors.

Another noteworthy question is about the possible parties that would be included in a negotiation process; in other words, which actors take a seat around the negotiation table? Since diplomacy is understood as a practice that takes place between states, the natural answer to this question emphasizes state actors. Yet, not all negotiations run between states. Obviously, state to state negotiations constitute the vast majority of all diplomatic negotiations. Interstate negotiations may be conducted on various issues. Land and sea borders, water issues (Dinar 2000), settlement of violent conflicts, trade and customs issues and other specific problems between states can be subjects of interstate diplomatic negotiations. It should also be noted that sometimes states negotiate with political

entities that they do not recognize as a sovereign state. Diplomatic negotiations with *de facto* states can be given examples of such interactions. For instance, the negotiations on sea borders between China and Taiwan are typical examples of this sort. Although China does not recognize Taiwan as a sovereign state, it did not form an obstacle for the Chinese government to contact the Taiwanese authorities directly within the context of negotiations (Saunders and Kastner 2009).

Secondly, negotiations may take place between states and non-state actors (Cooper and Hocking 2000). Especially in the post-Cold War era, the interactions between states and non-state actors significantly intensified. Within the context of globalization, non-state actors found a room in world politics and started to practice a certain degree of agential power. Therefore, both the theory and the practice of diplomacy developed in a manner to address the gradually intensifying interaction among states and non-state actors. In this regard, who is a non-state actor appears as a valid question. The term non-state actor may refer to a wide variety of actors varying from a multinational private company to a civil society organization (such as NGOs), from a terrorist organization to a transnational solidarity movement. As noted above, negotiation processes between states and non-state actors become more common especially in the post-Cold War term. Several examples can be given. For instance, after the oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico, the government of Mexico and British Petroleum were engaged in a long negotiation process for the compensation of the environmental pollution in the region (Parlett and Weaver 2011). After the negotiations, BP and Mexican government agreed on the biggest compensation that is undertaken by a private company in the history. Another example of state to non-state negotiation is those taking place between governments and terror organizations and insurgency groups (Neumann 2007). For example, the negotiations between the British government and the Irish Republican Army (IRA) is a typical example of negotiation processes between a government and an insurgency/terrorist organization. After long talks and negotiations, in 2005, IRA was convinced to leave the guns and will continue to its actions only in legal political space. Negotiation processes from state to non-state actors can also take place between governments and civil society organizations. Paris Agreement on Climate Change is a good example of such a process.



figure 8.2 Executive Secretary of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change Christiania Figueres, Secretary General of the United Nations Ban Ki Moon, Foreign Affairs Minister and President-designate of COP21 Laurent Fabius, and France's President Francois Hollande raise hands together after adoption of a historic global warming pact at the COP21 Climate Conference in Le Bourget, north of Paris, on Dec. 12, 2015. Anadolu Agency—Getty Images

Source: <http://time.com/4723481/donald-trump-paris-agreement-withdraw/>

Thirdly, sometimes international diplomatic negotiations can be among non-state actors. Such negotiation processes usually take place after multiparty civil wars (Raeymaekers et al. 2008). Such civil wars appear in weak state structure, leave destructive consequences and cause to failed-state structures. In such fragile environments, several armed groups get engaged in violent conflict to fill the power vacuum. Negotiation among them usually starts following the mediation initiative by a third party. In such negotiations, parties discuss how to share power in post-conflict state-building process. Disarmament, demobilization and reintegration (DDR) of the former combatants constitute a major topic in a negotiation process running among insurgency groups. Peace talks initiated by ECOWAS in Liberia and Sierra Leone after protracted civil wars can be considered as good examples of negotiation processes facilitated by an international organization for the insurgency groups to discuss power-sharing in the post-conflict term (Halistoprak 2015).

DDR IN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

DDR stands for disarmament, demobilization and reintegration. DDR is considered as an essential part of contemporary peace agreements. Especially several African states such as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Ivory Coast and Uganda experienced severe civil wars in post-colonial period. Inevitably, the efforts for settlement of these conflicts had to focus on the status of the former combatants. In fact, many peace efforts which aimed an immediate ceasefire and neglected the status of former combatants failed or violence recurred in spite of signature of a peace accord. Thus, peace negotiations today include detailed discussions about how to disarm, demobilize the ex-combatants. Reintegration of former warriors to the society is also of utmost importance in order to prevent them to engage in crime in the post-conflict period. For more information, visit the webpage of United Nations DDR Resource Centre. <http://www.unddr.org/>

Finally, international diplomatic negotiations can include an international organization and a specific state government. Acceptance to an international organization is a typical topic for such a negotiation. Another possible subject matter for such a negotiation can be focusing on a behavior of a government which is not welcomed by international community and the international organization would initiate a process to convince that government to commit certain internationally recognized standards or principles. The nuclear negotiations between the government of Iran and International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) is a good example for such a negotiation that took place between a government and an authorized international organization (Sebenius and Singh 2012).



figure 8.3 Reza Najafi (right), Iran's ambassador to the International Atomic Energy Agency, attends the IAEA Board of Governors meeting at agency headquarters in Vienna on June 2, 2014. At left is Suurood Najib, Iraq's ambassador to the IAEA. (Photo credit: Samuel Kubani/AFP/Getty Images)

Source: https://www.armscontrol.org/ACT/2015_12/News/Iran-Dismantling-Centrifuges-IAEA-Says

Who are the agents of diplomatic negotiations? For state actors, the answer to this question is fairly an easy one. States are usually represented by the diplomats of their respective ministries of foreign affairs in international diplomatic negotiations. Sometimes, elected ministers of foreign affairs directly take part in the negotiation committee. In a few cases, governments appoint a responsible person, such as an envoy, as the head of negotiating committee. Such an envoy may or may not be from the government or bureaucracy. Governments tend to select such representatives exclusively from a bunch of different sectors ranging from artists to academics and retired statespersons. Such special envoys appointed by a government as in charge of negotiations usually appear as figures who are respected domestically and internationally by a wide range of audience (Zartman and Faure, 2005: 15). The motivation of governments in

appointing a person outside the government for negotiations is to have someone in charge who has a public attractiveness so that bargaining leverage could be broadened accordingly (Niemann 2004). At this point, it should be noted that the power given to these representatives, diplomats or negotiation committees is of utmost importance for their successful negotiation skills. If the agents of negotiations are rendered in fully in charge and given the power of decision-making, this power usually strengthens the hand of the committee. In other words, if the one party in the negotiations feels that the counterparty has no decision-making power, the negotiation talks may turn into an unproductive interaction and may play even a worsening role in the overall relations.

Success of negotiations is directly dependent upon the attitudes of the negotiating parties. Galtung (2015) argues that if the attitudes of the

respective parties in the negotiations rely on a zero-sum understanding, likelihood of failure is greater. Instead, if parties are sincere about their will for settlement and they internalize win-win alternatives, it is most likely that parties will agree on a common ground to settle the problem. Galtung notes that sometimes talks may get stuck. In such situations, the role played by the moderator or the mediator is of utmost importance. In potential deadlock situations, the moderator should provide a new opening, which Galtung calls transcend approach to negotiations (Galtung, 2015: 32), which brings us to the role of mediators.



your turn ¹

Explain the concept of win-set and discuss how it is related to domestic politics of a country.

MEDIATION

The need for and use of mediation in diplomatic practices usually appear when there is a protracted conflict between two or more parties. In some cases, conflicts develop in a manner that gets stuck on a deadlock point. Consequences of the conflict become destructive and inhumane for all fighting parties. Yet, parties do not want to be the initiator for an offer to negotiate as they think this could be perceived as a sign for weakness for other parties. Thus, factions find themselves in a situation that forces them to keep fighting although they are sick and tired of fighting and waiting for a ceasefire to sit and talk about the settlement of the conflict. Under such circumstances, an initiative for mediation plays a very important role in the facilitation of the contact among the parties (Bercovitch and Rubin 1992).

It is important to note at the outset that mediation has a long history in the conduct of inter-community affairs. Tracing the history of mediation can easily takes us back to ancient times (Woolford and Ratner, 2008: 41). In pre-modern societies, due to the lack of consolidation and centralization of state institutions, conflicts, violent or non-violent, had to be dealt within the local societal structures. Land disputes, trade disagreements and marital problems were

facilitated through the intervention of locally respected figures. Yet, modern mediation that appeared as an established practice of diplomacy developed in accordance with the necessities of the contemporary world politics.

The definition of the mediation is a good starting point to investigate the basics and the procedures of the mediation. There are various approaches to mediation's general definition. Greig and Diehl (2012: 2) defines mediation as a tool for conflict management:

“Mediation is a conflict management tool used widely across a diverse set of contentious cases, running the gamut from divorce settlement talks to labor management negotiations to peace efforts between warring states. Regardless of the type of conflict to which it is applied, the distinguishing feature of mediation is the introduction of an outside or third party into the negotiation process between the disputing sides with, at least partially, the aim of producing a settlement between the two sides.”

This approach emphasizes that the mediator, as a third part which has no conflict of interest with any party included in the conflict, intervenes in the conflict with an aim to bring the overall conflict to a manageable point. In another definition Sisk (1996: 3) suggests that mediation is an effort to stop violence with any possible means of intervention.

“international mediation deals with the *process* of political change: Is it peaceful or violent? Mediators want to stop the violence by any means possible. The international community must be more involved in shaping the institutions that will ensure an enduring peace -- the *outcomes* of political change.”

As different from the previous definition, Sisk frames mediation mainly within the context of violent conflicts, and unlike Greig and Diehl, Sisk's definition suggests that mediation is a conflict-ending tool rather than a conflict-ordering one. Kressel (2006: 727) defines mediation as follows:

“Mediation may be defined as a process in which disputants attempt to resolve their differences with the assistance of an acceptable

third party. The mediator's objectives are typically to help the parties search for a mutually acceptable solution to their conflict and to counter tendencies toward competitive win-lose strategies and objectives. Mediators are most commonly single individuals, but they also can be twosomes, threesomes, or even larger groups."

As seen from this brief review of the literature, although there exist some nuances between different definitions, scholars agree on several points about mediation. Firstly, all definitions of mediation emphasizes that mediation processes are initiated by a neutral third party. Secondly, mediator's main objective is to facilitate the dialogue between the parties of the negotiation. In other words, foremost function of the mediator is to facilitate the contact. Along with these, providing a new perspective to the parties if the talks get stuck is also a key task for a mediator.

What are the basic features of a mediation intervention? A giant in the mediation studies, Bercovitch goes beyond just proposing a definition and clarifies the eight characteristics of international mediation as follows (Bercovitch, 1992: 4-5):

1. Mediation is an extension and continuation of the parties' own conflict management efforts.
2. Mediation involves the intervention of an individual, group or organization into a dispute between two or more actors.
3. Mediation is a non-coercive, non-violent and ultimately nonbinding form of intervention.
4. Mediation turns an original bilateral dispute into triadic interaction of some kind. By increasing the number of actors from two to three, mediation effects considerable structural changes and creates new focal points for an agreement.
5. A mediator enters a dispute in order to affect, change, resolve, modify or influence it in some way.
6. Mediators bring with them, consciously or otherwise, ideas, knowledge, resources and interests of their own or of the group or organization they represent. Mediators are often important actors with their own assumptions and agendas about the dispute in question. International mediators are both interested and concerned parties.
7. Mediation is a voluntary form of intervention. This means the parties retain their control over the outcome (if not always the process) of their dispute, as well as their freedom to accept or reject mediation or mediator's proposals.
8. Mediation operates on an ad hoc basis only.



figure 8.4 TRNC President Akinci (C-R), Greek Cypriot leader Anastasiades (C-L), SASG on Cyprus Espen Barth Eide (2-L), SRSF Elizabeth Spehar (3-L), Greek Cypriot Negotiator Andreas Mavroyannis (2-R), Turkish Cypriot Negotiator Özdi Nami (3-R) (AA Photo), 2 May2017.

Source: <https://www.dailysabah.com/diplomacy/2017/05/02/turkish-cypriot-president-akinci-calls-on-un-to-be-more-helpful-in-cyprus-talks>

Mediation initiatives has contributed to the construction of peace agreements, peaceful solution of several disputes or prevented potential crises to turn into violent conflicts. Yet, it should also be emphasized that mediation is also used as an instrument by the initiator to construct an international role. The initiator country or organization for mediation sometimes does so to have a say in world politics. Role theory of Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) literature suggests that countries build certain national roles for themselves and conduct their foreign policy accordingly (Holsti 1970; Walker 1987). In this regard, we can see that there are certain countries in contemporary world politics which construct themselves as natural mediators in crisis situations. For instance, Norway has played mediator role in several disputes and its capital Oslo has been home to several peace talks such as the one between Israel and Palestine. Within this context, it is fair to suggest that mediator party also utilizes from the success of its potential mediation. In another case, for instance, Canada played a significant role in the gathering of Ottawa Convention on Ban on Land Mines (Anderson 2000). As a medium sized state, Canada has opened itself a space in world politics by initiating such an important process which turned into a binding agreement for more than 140 countries. Small states also take initiative to mediate in international or domestic crises. For instance, Switzerland as a “neutral country” for more than 600 years (Kriesi and Trechsel 2008), offered mediation to Spanish and Catalanian parties after emergence of crisis following the independence referendum in Catalonia in 2017. Another good example of small state mediation is the initiative of Algeria in the settlement of Iranian Hostage Crisis in 1979 (Slim, 1992: 206).

We can mention two main types of mediation: formal and informal (Berkovich and Jackson, 1997). Formal mediation processes start after the authorization of a person by usually an international organization. In formal mediation processes, the mandate and jurisdiction of the mediator are determined in the authorization resolution. In such formal mediation practices, most of the procedural details of the mediation process are predefined. Usually, the duration of the mediator’s mandate is

specified in the authorization, so that parties would know the time frame for the settlement of the problem. This predefined details may contribute to the parties’ motivation and will for settlement, as well as they may make a detrimental effect on the course of the negotiation process and cause parties to seek a bypass of the mediator especially if they see the overall negotiation process not serving to their win-set. There are number of examples for formal mediation practices. Former president of Finland, Martti Ahtisaari has served as a mediator in the settlement of various conflicts varying from conflict between the Indonesian government and Aceh region to Kosovo conflict (Ahtisaari, 2008; Perit, 2010). In fact, Ahtisaari became a prominent figure in international mediation practices especially after his retirement from Finnish politics and took initiative himself to prompt international society to take more active initiative in the settlement of international crises. For his efforts, he was awarded Nobel Peace Prize in 2008.

There have also been cases settled through informally running mediation processes. Informal mediation is a mediation practice in which conflicting parties voluntarily pick a third party mediator to intervene in the conflict and mediate the parties (Hare, 1992: 53). Mediator is selected usually because all conflicting parties attribute a credibility to her/him and acknowledge her/his impartiality. The main difference between formal and informal mediation processes is that in informal mediation process, the mediator lacks the economic and political backing enjoyed by the mediators in formal processes. Therefore, informal mediation is considered mainly as a dialogue facilitation initiative rather than providing decisive and binding consequences (Kleiboerr, 1996). For instance, the dispute between Argentina and Uruguay on the Uruguay River is mediated by the King of Spain (Goldstein and Pevehouse, 2014: 258). The mediation was an informal one. Yet, the provisions suggested by the mediator were respected by both parties and the decision of the World Court in the Hague followed these provisions and legalized them. In other words, an informal mediation process led to a formal trial process in the World Court and turned into a formal resolution.



figure 8.5 Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon and Joint UN–Arab League Special Representative for Syria Lakhdar Brahimi meet with the five permanent members of the Security Council to discuss the second International Conference on Syria, United Nations, New York, September 27, 2013. UN.

Source: <https://www.ipinst.org/2016/11/lost-in-transition-un-mediation-in-libya-syria-and-yemen>

It should also be noted that informal mediation is often preferred by governments when they are reluctant to disclose the negotiation process to the public. It is, therefore, a general practice that negotiation processes with terror organizations and insurgency groups usually starts with informal mediation. Following the informal talks, the negotiations become official when the political authority believes that the public is prepared to welcome the talks.



your turn ²

Discuss the role of informal mediation as a dialogue facilitation initiative.

DIPLOMATIC AGREEMENT

Ultimate aim for negotiation is to reach an agreement which avoids use of force and bring a peaceful solution to the problem. Once a successful mediated negotiation is finalized, the next step is to officialize the agreed conditions through a diplomatic agreement of which clauses would be binding for all signatory parties. A diplomatic agreement or protocol, in this context, is a binding legal text produced through negotiations between disputing parties to institutionalize the conditions agreed.

It would be flawed to limit diplomatic agreements to settlements of the violent conflict. Diplomatic agreements may focus a wide array of issues ranging from peacemaking to visa regimes, from trade to usage of bordering rivers. We may examine several types of diplomatic agreements. One type of diplomatic agreement is multiparty treaties that regulate a general regime of a certain practice for the signatories. For instance, the set of negotiated legal documents under Schengen Agreement, which introduced a common visa regime among the EU countries and several partner countries can be considered as an example of this type. After a negotiation process, the member states to the European Union enforced this diplomatic agreement and committed to a common visa program. Later, Schengen Agreement and the visa regime regulated in it was enlarged in a manner to include several non-EU countries such as Switzerland and Norway.

Another type of diplomatic agreement is the type that regulates the conditions for settlement of a non-violent dispute between or among states. Such diplomatic agreements emerge after the negotiation of two states or a group of states which are the parties of the dispute. For instance, efforts to govern the regime of international rivers has been a subject matter to many international diplomatic agreement. The regime on the use of Nile Basin is a typical example of a diplomatic agreement in which a group of regional countries gathered,

negotiated and signed (Cascao 2008). Yet, it should also be noted that signing of such a diplomatic agreement does not always guarantee the full compliance of the parties. In quite a few cases, disputes that are contained through diplomatic agreements recur since one party or multiple parties violate the clauses of the agreement. Again, the usage of the Nile River is an example of a dispute regulated through a diplomatic agreement but continues to be a potential threat for conflict among Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia.

Finally, diplomatic agreements signed after violent conflicts should be noted. World politics have witnessed a growing number of domestic and regional violent conflicts especially after 1960s, which is a term decolonization in Africa and elsewhere gained momentum. Many newly independent decolonized states have struggled with political and economic instability ever since. Especially in 1980s and 1990s, outbreak of quite a few civil wars caused catastrophic humanitarian situations in many countries including Rwanda, Angola, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast. In some cases, intervention by international society came so late that it could not prevent big massacres even genocides as happened in the case of Rwanda Genocide (Cohen 2007). In some other cases, regional organizations such as Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and African Union, or United Nations as the global international organization initiated interventions and mediated the conflicts. After mediation and negotiation practices, parties agreed on several diplomatic agreements which brought peace. Lomé Peace Accord, for example, is the peace agreement signed by Sierra Leonean government and Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and its leader Foday Sankoh in 1999, which ended the civil war in Sierra Leone (Abraham 2001). It is possible to suggest that this type of diplomatic agreements is much more difficult to agree on compared to any other type of diplomatic agreement. After long standing conflicts which left tremendous casualties on each party included, sharpened identities and resentments of the respective parties make detrimental effects on their motivation to sign a peace and lead them to seek revenge. Therefore, peace accords after long standing conflicts inevitably have to address sensitive issues such as power-sharing in the post-conflict term, transitional justice, war crimes and rehabilitation and reintegration of former combatants. In the case of Sierra Leone, for instance, Foday Sankoh, the leader of RUF who was against humanity had to be given a seat in the post-conflict interim government to be convinced to sign the deal. Hence, the diplomatic agreements that end conflicts have to be supported peacebuilding efforts in the post-conflict period to obviate the recurrence of the violence.



figure 8.6 Australia's Trade and Investment Minister Andrew Robb and Chinese Commerce Minister Gao Hucheng signing the China-Australia Free Trade Agreement in Canberra on 17 June 2015, witnessed by Prime Minister Tony Abbott.
Photo: Office of the Prime Minister

Source: <http://dfat.gov.au/trade/agreements/chafta/news/Pages/signature-of-the-china-australia-free-trade-agreement.aspx>

RATIFICATION OF DIPLOMATIC AGREEMENTS

Ratification is a final step for an international diplomatic agreement to be put in practice. In most cases, international diplomatic agreements are presented to parliaments for ratification. Copying this general practice, 87th article of the constitution of Turkey authorizes the Turkish Grand National Assembly for the ratification of international agreements.

Enforcement of diplomatic agreements is also an important topic to address. When a diplomatic agreement is signed, the final step for it to be put into practice is the ratification process. Ratification is simply the approval of an agreement by the domestic agents of a country. Ratifying body may vary depending on the regime of the signatory country. In absolute monarchies of the medieval world, ratification was not needed because the committee signing a diplomatic agreement was directly authorized by the monarch. Yet, contemporary global democratic principles rendered parliaments as the representatives of the people. Therefore, almost in all liberal democracies, the natural ratification organ is the parliament. Depending on the constitution of the country, parliaments ratify international agreements either with simple or qualified majority. In some cases, the executive organ may decide to present the diplomatic agreement to a public vote

or referendum. Ratification is an essential procedure for the activation and realization of a diplomatic agreement. In fact, many diplomatic agreement remained ineffective or annulled because they did not succeed to be ratified. For example, diplomatic protocols between Turkey and Armenia signed in 2009 regarding the normalization of the relations between the two countries remained inactive because neither country brought these protocols to their respective parliaments and ratified them. Recently in early 2018, Armenia declared that they cancelled the protocol unilaterally for it became obvious that both countries are not ratifying them (ABCNews, March 1, 2018). Another example is about the ratification process of the agreement between the Colombian Government and FARC. After more than 50 years of fighting, parties agreed on a peace accord in 2016. The government of Colombia wanted to ratify the agreement through a public referendum. Yet, Colombian people rejected the ratification of the agreement with a very slight majority, 50.2%. (BBC, October 3, 2016). Nevertheless, Colombian government worked through the parliament later and ratified the agreement.



your turn ³

Discuss the emergence of diplomatic agreements.

LO 1

Compare the motivations of negotiating parties in various international negotiations.

The willingness and the motivation of the parties have a direct impact on the outcome of the negotiation. Yet, motivations of the parties included in a certain negotiation process may vary. Actors may use the negotiation process as a minor tactic within a greater strategy. In such instances, negotiations may be seen as a tool to gain some time by the actors. In such cases, actors are not convinced that negotiating with the counterparty would bring in the desired results that is acceptable. However, it should also be noted that interests and intentions of the actors are dynamic and may change once they are in a negotiation process. In several cases, negotiation processes with actors which were quite reluctant and saw the whole process in pragmatic terms have been fruitful and ended up with settlements.

LO 2

Analyze how parties of a given negotiation process form their win-sets for international bargaining.

Win-set is a term coined by Robert Putnam in his famous article that he developed a framework for foreign policy decision-making (Putnam, 1988). According to Putnam's framework, win-set of an actor can be defined as any desirable outcome from an international bargaining process. Any outcome within the range of its win-set would be considered as gain by the actor. The formation of this win-set, according to Putnam, is directly related with the domestic political dynamics. Putnam's framework of decision-making suggests that foreign policy is not only about the external relations of a country. Rather, decision-makers play a two-level game in their conduct of foreign policy. Their win-set is formed within the context of domestic politics and decision-makers are motivated by factors such as succeeding in the elections and surviving in the office. Therefore, international diplomatic negotiations are inevitably affected by the domestic political context in respective countries.

LO 3

Note the basic procedures for formal and informal mediation practices.

Mediation in international crises and disputes is an effective tool of conflict resolution. Many international crises have been intervened by mediators, so the dialogue between conflicting parties was facilitated. Two types of mediation can be mentioned: formal and informal. Formal mediation processes start after the authorization of a person by usually an international organization. In formal mediation processes, the mandate and jurisdiction of the mediator are determined in the authorization resolution. Informal mediation is a mediation practice in which conflicting parties voluntarily pick a third party mediator to intervene in the conflict and mediate the parties. Informal mediation is often preferred by governments when they are reluctant to disclose the negotiation process to the public.

LO 4

Evaluate the motivations of the mediators in international conflicts.

Mediation is also used as an instrument by the initiator to construct an international role. The initiator country or organization for mediation sometimes does so to have a say in world politics. In this regard, we can see that there are certain countries in contemporary world politics which construct themselves as natural mediators in crisis situations. For instance, Norway has played mediator role in several disputes and its capital Oslo has been home to several peace talks such as the one between Israel and Palestine. It is fair to suggest that mediator party also utilizes from the success of its potential mediation. In another case, for instance, Canada played a significant role in the gathering of Ottawa Convention on Ban on Land Mines. Small states also take initiative to mediate in international or domestic crises. For instance, Switzerland as a “neutral country” for more than 600 years, offered mediation to Spanish and Catalanian parties after emergence of crisis following the independence referendum in Catalonia in 2017. Another good example of small state mediation is the initiative of Algeria in the settlement of Iranian Hostage Crisis in 1979.

LO 5

Categorize different types of diplomatic agreements.

Not all diplomatic agreements signed after violent conflicts. Rather, diplomatic agreements may focus on a wide range of topics. Firstly, multiparty treaties that regulate a general regime of a certain practice for the signatories is signed after long negotiation processes. For instance, the set of negotiated legal documents under Schengen Agreement, which introduced a common visa regime among the EU countries and several partner countries can be considered as an example of this type. Secondly, some diplomatic agreements regulate the conditions for settlement of a non-violent dispute between or among states. Such diplomatic agreements emerge after the negotiation of two states or a group of states which are the parties of the dispute. For instance, efforts to govern the regime of international rivers has been a subject matter to many international diplomatic agreements. The regime on the use of Nile Basin is a typical example of a diplomatic agreement in which a group of regional countries gathered, negotiated and signed. Finally, peace agreements are signed after long lasting violent conflicts. Regional organizations such as Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and African Union, or United Nations as the global international organization initiate interventions and mediate the conflicts. After mediation and negotiation practices, parties agree on several diplomatic agreements which brought peace. Lomé Peace Accord, for example, is the peace agreement signed by Sierra Leonean government and Revolutionary United Front (RUF) and its leader Foday Sankoh in 1999, which ended the civil war in Sierra Leone.

LO 6

Examine the different procedures of ratification for diplomatic agreements.

When a diplomatic agreement is signed, the final step for it to be put into practice is the ratification process. Contemporary global democratic principles render parliaments as the representatives of the people. Therefore, almost in all liberal democracies, the natural ratification organ is the parliament. Depending on the constitution of the country, parliaments ratify international agreements either with simple or qualified majority. In some cases, the executive organ may decide to present the diplomatic agreement to a public vote or referendum.

1 In diplomatic negotiations, parties build a win-set for their bargaining strategy. Which of the following statements define the concept of win-set?

- Win-set is a diplomatic agreement between the mediator and negotiating parties.
- Win-set is the authorization given to the negotiation committee by the parliament.
- Win-set of an actor can be defined as any desirable outcome from an international bargaining process.
- Win-set is general title for peace agreements.
- Win-set is the mediator's interest in the intervention to the conflict.

2 Which of the following examples of negotiation from world politics ended up with recurrence of violent conflict between parties due to the failure of the negotiation process?

- Negotiations between Spain and Catalanian authorities.
- Negotiations between Turkey and Armenia.
- Negotiations between Indonesian Government and Aceh rebels.
- Negotiations between Sri Lankan Government and Tamil Tigers.
- Negotiations between Iran and IAEA.

3 Which of the following motivation statements would best define Putnam's approach to international negotiations?

- Actors follow a pure rationalist approach in international negotiations.
- Decision-makers are only motivated to follow the national interest of their countries.
- Decision-makers tend to avoid risks if they think it jeopardizes the national interest.
- International bargaining is affected by the influence of international organizations.
- The set of goals for a negotiating actor is formed through the interplay between domestic and international politics.

4 After violent conflicts, societies suffer from the effects of long lasting violence. For a stable peace environment and to prevent recurrence of violence, which of the following issues do peace negotiations often focus on?

- How to disarm, demobilize and reintegrate the former combatants.
- How to share country's natural resources.
- How to build a stronger military.
- How to build a liberal market economy.
- How to privatize public institutions.

5 What is the **main** disadvantage of the informal mediation processes vis-à-vis formal mediation processes?

- Informal mediation causes more conflict.
- Informal mediation lacks the political and economic backing that formal mediation processes enjoy.
- Informal mediation initiatives are not respected by formal institutions.
- Informal mediation usually does not help to find a settlement of the conflict.
- Informal mediation may be manipulated by the mediator.

6 Which of the following persons and states did not serve as a mediator in the settlement of an international conflict so far?

- Martti Ahtisaari
- Algeria
- Canada
- The King of Spain
- Iran

7 Why do states need a diplomatic agreement following a successful negotiation process?

- a. Because diplomatic agreements provide them more gains.
- b. Because they want to become member to international organizations.
- c. Because diplomatic agreements create binding consequences for all parties, and guarantees the rights of parties.
- d. Because states are not allowed to interact without agreements.
- e. Because diplomatic agreements provide prestige to them.

8 Ratification is necessary for the activation of a diplomatic agreement. In several cases, diplomatic protocols signed by states inactive due to the lack of ratification. Which of the following examples can be considered as a diplomatic protocol which remained inactive due to ratification problem?

- a. Nuclear agreement between IAEA and Iran.
- b. Nile Basin protocols among Sudan, Egypt and Ethiopia.
- c. Schengen Agreement of Visa Regime.
- d. Protocols signed between Turkey and Armenia on the normalization of relations.
- e. Lomé Peace Accords.

9 What has been the result of peace talks between the government of Colombia and FARC?

- a. Peace is signed, but the agreement is rejected in referendum, but Colombian Parliament ratified the agreement.
- b. Peace is signed, but agreement is not ratified, so parties restarted to fight.
- c. Peace talks failed, no agreement could be reached.
- d. Colombian army attacked FARC during the negotiations and talks stopped.
- e. There has been no negotiation between the parties.

10 Which of the following bodies **cannot** be a body for the ratification of the diplomatic agreements?

- a. Parliament
- b. Senate
- c. Public (through a referendum)
- d. Group of intellectuals
- e. Monarchs

1. c

If your answer is not B, revisit the part about negotiations.

6. e

If your answer is not E, revisit the part about mediation examples from the actual world politics.

2. d

If your answer is not D, revisit the part about negotiations and examples from the actual world politics.

7. c

If your answer is not C, revisit the part about diplomatic agreements.

3. e

If your answer is not E, revisit the box about formation of win-sets.

8. e

If your answer is not E, revisit the part about ratification of diplomatic agreements.

4. a

If your answer is not A, revisit the box about DDR efforts.

9. a

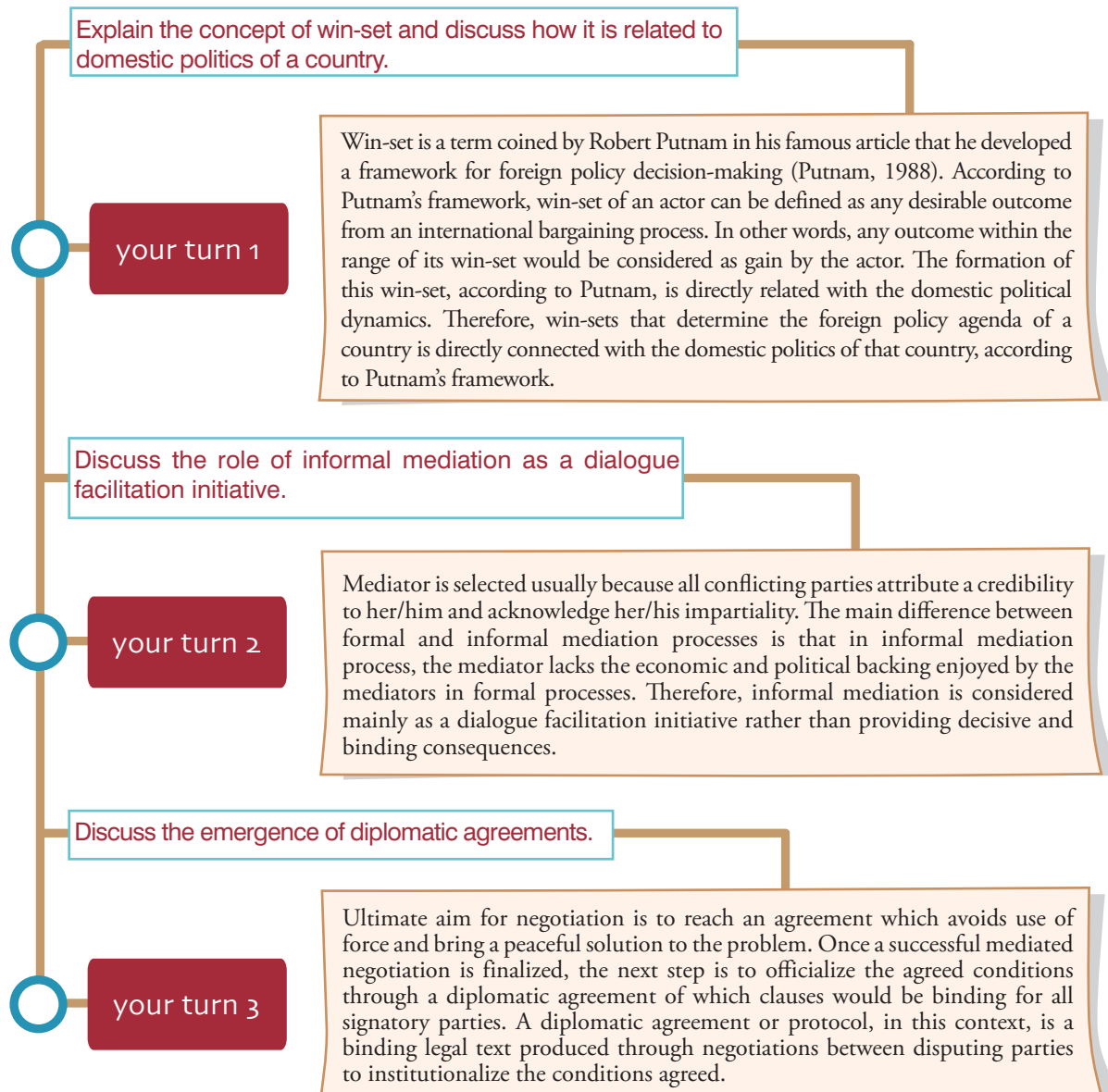
If your answer is not A, revisit the part in which the peace talks between Colombia and FARC is exemplified.

5. b

If your answer is not B, revisit the part about different types of mediation practices.

10. d

If your answer is not D, revisit the part about the ratification of the agreements.



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